

THE *Army*  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
LIFE  
OF  
PETER I.  
EMPEROR of *RUSSIA*.

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V O L. III.

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By JOHN MOTTLEY, Esq;

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The SECOND EDITION.

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M.DCC.XL.







T O  
**JOHN MYDDELTON,**  
 O F

*Chirk-Castle, in Denbighshire, Esq;*

S I R,

**H**OW little deserving soever his Writings may be, there is no Author who has taken much Pains in a Work, but sets a Value upon it himself ; and if this was not my Case, I should not think of begging Leave to place one of the Volumes of this History under your Protection ; but there is such an Air of that awful

## DEDICATION.

and distant Respect in a publick Dedication, which although most justly due to your Birth, your great Affluence of Fortune, and your personal Merits, yet I know is not agreeable to your frank Temper, that I fear you will be surprized at receiving an Address of this Sort from one whom you have honoured with the Freedom of making a nearer Approach to you : But, Sir, your generous Disposition, your Affability of Manners, and Aversion to superficial Ceremonies, are what will always increase rather than diminish all real Respect : And it is with much Pleasure that I have this Opportunity of expressing in a publick Manner the great Esteem I have for your Person, and the grateful Sense of the Honour you have done me of a Continuance of that Friendship, which you were pleased to begin to shew very many Years past to,

S I R,

*Your most Obliged*

*And most Obedient*

*Humble Servant,*

John Mottley.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
PETER I.  
CZAR of MUSCOVY.

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BOOK I.

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The CONTENTS.

*The Trial of the Czarewitz. His Sentence and sudden Death, of which the Czar orders an Account to be given in a circular Letter to his Ministers Abroad. Endeavours to suppress any false Reports concerning this and his other Affairs; complains particularly of the Residents of the Emperor, and of the States-General, for writing with too little Caution about them. He punishes the rest of the Criminals in the late Conspiracy.*



THE Execution of so many considerable Persons at *Moscow*, on Account of the Conspiracy of the Czarewitz, made most People imagine that the whole Business was finished, and that the *Grand Inquisition* would be set aside; but it soon appeared, to the great Astonishment of every Body, that all

the Tortures made use of in that City, had not been sufficient to discover the whole Truth of that Affair, nor would they have been able to draw more Light from the remaining Prisoners, had not the Myſtery been unravelled by intercepted Letters, which were found ſewed up in the Cloaths of certain Perſons. The Czar therefore ſaw himſelf neceſſitated to eſtabliſh a ſecond High Court of Juſtice, and to this End to convoke the chief of the *Ruſſian* Clergy with all poſſible Speed to *Peterſburgh*. They being all arrived in *June*, and the Czar having beſides eſtabliſhed another Court, conſiſting of Secular Perſons, *viz.* the Miniſters. Senators, Governors, Generals, and the ſuperior Officers of his Guards, his Majeſty, for eight ſeveral Days, lay during ſome Hours on his Knees, imploring God, with abundance of Tears, to inſpire him with ſuch Thoughts as the Honour of his holy Name, and the Welfare of the *Ruſſian* Nation required: And ſo on th 25<sup>th</sup> of *June* 1718, the Sefſions of this Criminal Court were opened in the Hall of the Senate, whither his Czarish Majeſty repaired, with the whole Body of the Clergy, and the Secular Judges, after firſt having cauſed ſolemn Service to be performed in the Church of the *Holy Ghoſt*, to implore God's Aſſiſtance in this weighty Affair. The whole Aſſembly having taken their reſpective Places at ſeveral Tables, the Doors and Windows were ſet open, in order to give free Admittance to all ſorts of Perſons. Upon this the Czarewitz was brought into Court, under the Guard of four Under-Officers; and upon his Appearance, his Majeſty made a brief Declaration of the Cauſes, why he had called them together, and ordered the following Writings to be publickly read.

**T**H O' the Flight of the Czarewitz *Alexis*, and a Part of his Crimes be already known to the whole World, by the Maniſeſto which was publiſhed of them at *Moscow*, on the Third of *February* of the preſent Year 1718, yet there are daily diſcovered ſuch unexpected and ſurpriſing Attempts, as far ſurpaſs what has been already publiſhed; and ſhew with what Baſeneſs and Villany the Prince endeavoured to impoſe upon his Sovereign

reign and Father, what grievous Perjuries he committed against God, with the imaginary Illness he feigned, to prevent an Inquiry into his ill Practices, and the Discovery of his pernicious Intrigues. All this shall be laid open with Perspicuity and Order, by giving a full Account of the Matter from its first Beginning.

The Czarewitz *Alexis* had hardly attained to the Age of Reason before his Czarian Majesty, his Father, employed all sorts of Means to form his Mind for managing the Affairs of the Government, and to instruct him in the Art of War, as is related in the Manifesto of *Moscow*. The same Cares were continued for several Years without any Benefit, or Progress. His Majesty expected his Amendment from Day to Day, by a Change of Conduct, and an Alteration of Manners; but observing the Prince opposed himself to all his good Designs, he declared to him his Intentions by Writing, and demanded of him his last Resolution. Thus in the Year 1715, on the 11th of *October*, upon his Return from the Funeral of the Princess of the Crown, espoused to the Czarewitz, his Czarian Majesty went in Person to the Prince, and gave him the following Writing.

*A DECLARATION to my SON.*

**Y**OU cannot be ignorant of what all the World is acquainted with, under how severe an Oppression the People groaned from the *Swedish* Yoke, before the Beginning of the present War.

By the Usurpation of so many maritime Places, which were necessary to our State, they cut us off from all Commerce with the rest of the World, and we saw with Regret, that they had also cast a Veil before the Eyes of the Clearest-sighted. You know very well what Pains it has cost us in the Beginning of this War, (in which God alone has led us, as it were by the Hand, and whose Providence still conducts us) to gain Experience, and oppose ourselves to the Advantages which our irreconcilable Enemies had gained over us.

We submitted to this Trial with Resignation to the Will of God; not doubting but that it was he who laid it upon us, till he had brought us in a good Way, and



we were accounted worthy to prove by Experience, that the same Enemy, before whom we have formerly trembled, could also tremble in his Turn, and perhaps with a severer Terror. These are the Advantages, which, next to the Divine Assistance, we owe to our Labours, and the Labours of our faithful and affectionate Children, our Subjects of *Russia*.

But whilst I reflect upon the Prosperity which God has heaped upon our Country, if I turn my Eyes upon the succeeding Generation, my Heart is more fill'd with Grief at the future Prospect, than I enjoy Satisfaction for the past Blessing, whilst I observe you, my Son, to reject all the Means that may render you capable of governing well upon my Decease. I charge your Incapacity upon your want of Inclination, as you cannot excuse yourself by any Defect in your Understanding or Strength, as tho' God had not favoured you with such Abilities. For tho' you are not of the most robust Complexion in the World, yet you cannot complain of a weak Disposition.

To talk of the Exercises of the War is burthensome to you, tho' it is by them we have emerged from our former Obscurity, and made ourselves known and esteemed by all the Nations around us.

I would not advise you to make War without a lawful Cause; all that I ask of you, is to apply yourself to learn the Art of War: For it is impossible to govern well, without knowing the Rules of Military Discipline, tho' it should be no otherwise useful than in the Defence of our Country.

I could lay before your Eyes a great number of Examples, to confirm you in the Truth of what I say; but I shall only mention to you the *Greeks*, with whom we are united in the Profession of the same Faith. From whence came the Fall of their Empire, unless from the Neglect of Arms? It was Idleness and Indolence which weakened them, and made them a Prey to Tyrants, and subject to that Slavery they have so long groaned under.

You are much mistaken, if you think it is sufficient for a Prince to have good Generals to act under his Command. All Mens Eyes are fixed upon the King; his  
Incli-

Inclinations are studied and pursued, as all the World perceives. My Brother, for instance, during his Reign, was fond of Magnificence in Dress, and took Delight in Horses. This was by no means the Taste of the Country; but the Inclination of the Prince soon gained Ground among his Subjects, who are led to imitate him in what he loves, as they disregard what he hates.

If the People are so easily given to change in an Affair of Pleasure, will they not be apt to forget, in course of Time, and even more easily abandon the Use of Arms, which cannot be exercised without some Labour and Pains, if they are not constantly inured to it?

You have no Inclination to learn the Business of War, nor apply yourself to it, and consequently can never possibly be acquainted with it: How then can you command over others, and judge of the Reward which they deserve who do their Duty, or punish those who neglect it? You can do nothing of yourself, and will be obliged to judge by the Eyes and Assistance of another, like a helpless Bird who is fed by its Dam.

You urge, that your Want of Health will not allow you to support the Fatigues of War; but this Excuse is no better than the rest. I do not require Fatigues from you; I should only be glad to see such an Inclination in you which is not in the Power of Sickness to prevent. Enquire of those who lived in my Brother's Reign; his Health was far more indisposed than ever yours was; he was utterly unable to manage a rough Horse, and could hardly mount one; but he loved Horses, and for this Reason there never was, and perhaps never will be again in the Country, so fine a Stable as he had.

You see by this, that Success does not always depend upon Labour, but upon Inclination.

If you think, that the Affairs of some Princes are attended with Success, tho' themselves be not present in the War, you are certainly in the right; but tho' they be not present, their Inclination is there, and it is the Business they understand.

For instance, the late King of *France* did not always make War in Person; but every one knows how fond he was of Military Expeditions, and how many glorious



Exploits he performed, so that his Campaigns have been named the Theatre and School of the World. Nor was his Inclination confined only to Military Affairs; he had Regard also to Mechanick Arts, Manufactures, and other Establishments, which have rendered his Kingdom more flourishing than those of his Neighbours.

And now, after these Remonstrances, I return to my first Subject, which concerns you.

I am a Man, and by consequence must die; and whom shall I leave behind me to finish what, by God's Grace, I have begun, and preserve what, in part, I have received? A Man who, like the Sluggard in the Gospel, hides his Talent in the Ground, and neglects to exert the Faculties which God has given him.

Call to mind the Obstinacy of your Temper, and the Perverseness of your Disposition. How often have I reproached you with them, and even corrected you for them? and for how many Years have I desisted from speaking any longer of them? But all has been to no purpose, and my Reproofs have been fruitless. I have only lost my Time and beaten the Air. You do not so much as strive to grow better; and all your Satisfaction seems to consist in Laziness and Inactivity. What you ought to be most ashamed of, as being a real Misery, you seem to be delighted with, without foreseeing the dangerous Consequences attending upon it, with Reference both to yourself and the whole State. It is a great Truth St. Paul hath taught us, when he says, *If a Man cannot govern his own Family, how shall he be able to govern the Church of God?*

After having considered all these Inconveniences, and reflected upon them, as I see I have not been able to engage you by any Motives to do as you ought, I have judged it convenient to lay before you in Writing this Act of my last Will, resolving still to wait a little longer before I come to a final Execution of my Purpose, to try whether you will amend or no; if not, be assured that I'll deprive you of the Succession, and cut you off as an unprofitable Member.

Do not think, that because I have no other Child \*, I say this only with a Design to fright you : I will certainly do what I say, if it shall so please God. For as I spare not my own Life for the Good of my Country, and the Safety of my People, why should I spare you, who will not be at the pains to be worthy of them? I shall rather chuse to transmit them into the Hands of a worthy Stranger, than give them to an unworthy Son.

*The Original is signed with his Majesty's own Hand,*

PETER.

*The Answer of the Czarewitz to his Czarian Majesty, written three Days after the Birth of the Lord Czarewitz* PETER PETROWITZ.

*Most Clement Lord and Father,*

**I** Have read the Writing your Majesty gave me on the 27th of October 1715, after the Interment of my late Spouse.

I have nothing to reply to it, but that if it is your Majesty's Pleasure to deprive me of the Succession to the Crown of *Russia*, by reason of my Inability; your Will be done. I even earnestly request it at your Majesty's Hands, as I do not think myself fit for the Government. My Memory is much weakened, and without it there is no Possibility of managing Affairs; my Mind and Body are much decayed by the Distempers to which I have been subject, which renders me incapable of governing so many People, who must necessarily require a more vigorous Man at their Head than I am.

For which Reason I should not aspire to the Succession of the Crown of *Russia* after you, whom God long preserve, tho' I had no Brother, as I have at present, whom I pray God also to preserve. Nor will I ever hereafter lay Claim to the Succession, as I call God to witness by a solemn Oath; in Confirmation whereof, I write and sign the present Letter with my own Hand.

\* This Letter was written eighteen Days before the Birth of the Czarewitz PETER PETROWITZ, and so the Czarewitz ALEXIS was then his only Son.

I give my Children into your Hands; and, for my part, desire no more than a bare Maintenance so long as I live, leaving all the rest to your Consideration and good Pleasure.

*Your most humble Servant, and Son,*

ALEXIS.

*His Czarian Majesty's second LETTER to the Czarewitz,  
written the 19th of January 1716.*

The last Admonition.

**A**S my Illness hath hitherto prevented me from letting you know the Resolutions I have taken, with reference to the Answer you returned to my former Letter, I now send you my Reply. I observe that you there speak of the Succession, as tho' I had need of your Consent, to do herein what absolutely depends upon my own Will. But whence comes it you make no mention of your voluntary Incapacity, and the Aversion you constantly express to publick Affairs, which I spoke of in a more particular Manner than I did of your unhealthy Indisposition, tho' the latter is the only Thing you take notice of? I farther expressed my Dissatisfaction in your Conduct for some Years past; but of this you are wholly silent, tho' I strongly insisted upon it. From whence I judge, that my Fatherly Exhortations make no Impression upon you; for which Reason I have determined to write this Letter to you, and it shall be my last. For if you thus despise the Advice I give you whilst I am alive, what can I expect from you after my Death?

Can I rely upon your Oath, when I see that your Heart is hardened? *David* has said, *that every Man is a Lyar*. But tho' at present you should design to continue faithful to your Promises, your Seducers will hereafter mould you to their own Pleasure, and constrain you to break them.

As their Laziness and Debauchery have deprived them, at present, of all Places of Honour, their whole Dependance is upon you; and the Regard you have already shewn

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shewn them, gives them an Expectation, that you will one Day make their Condition better.

I don't find you make any Acknowledgment of the Obligation you owe to your Father, who gave you Life. Have you assisted him, since you came to Maturity of Years, in his Labours and Pains? No; certainly the World knows you have not. On the other hand, you blame and abhor whatever Good I have been able to do, at the Expence of my Health, for the Love I have bore to my People, and for their Advantage; and I have all imaginable Reason to believe, that you will destroy it all, in case you should survive me. And thus I cannot resolve to let you live as you think fit, like an amphibious Creature, that is neither Fish nor Flesh. Either then change your Conduct, and labour to make yourself worthy of the Succession, or take upon you the Monastick Vow.

I cannot rest satisfied with your present Behaviour, especially as I find my Health to decay. As soon therefore as you shall have received this my Letter, let me have your Answer in Writing, or give it me in Person: If not, I shall treat you as a Malefactor.

*In the Original signed,*

PETER.

*The Answer of the Czarewitz, written the 20th of  
January 1716.*

*Most Clement Lord and Father,*

I Received, Yesterday in the Morning, your Letter of the 19th of this Month: My Indisposition will not allow me to write a long Answer. I shall enter upon a Monastick Life, and beg your gracious Consent for so doing.

*Your most humble Servant, and Son,*

ALEXIS.

His Czarian Majesty, before his Departure into Foreign Countries, did afterwards visit the Czarewitz at his House, to bid him Farewel. He found him in Bed, as though he had been sick; and yet he was hardly

parted from him, before he went to an Entertainment with the *Diack Michel Voinou*.

His Majesty then demanded of him what Resolution he had taken; and the Czarewitz affirmed to him again with solemn Oaths, calling God to Witness, that he was resolved to retire into a Convent, and that he wished for nothing with a more eager Passion, than to embrace the Monastick State. His Majesty represented to him the Difficulties attending upon a young Person, who should enter into such an Engagement; That he ought to consider well of it before-hand, and not proceed with Rashness and Precipitation, and then send him his Resolution: But it would be much better for him to return into the Way his Majesty had pointed out to him, than to become a Monk; and to this End he gave him still six Months time longer to consider of it: Upon which he bid him Farewel.

The six Months passed, and his Majesty received no News from the Czarewitz upon this Head; which obliged him to send him a Letter under his own Hand from *Copenhagen*, by the Courier *Sophonor*, dated the 26th of August 1716, in these Terms.

*My Son,*

YOUR first Letter of the 29th of June, and your next of the 30th of July, were brought to me. As in them you speak only of the Condition of your Health, I send you the present Letter to tell you, that I demanded your Resolution upon the Affair of the Succession, when I bade you Farewel. You then answered me in your usual Manner, That you judged yourself incapable of it, by reason of your Infirmities; and that you should chuse rather to retire into a Convent. I bade you seriously consider of it again, and then send me the Resolution you should take. I have expected it for these seven Months, and yet have heard nothing of you concerning it: You have had Time enough for Consideration; and therefore, as soon as you shall receive my Letter, resolve on the one side or the other. If you determine to apply, and make yourself capable of the Succession, do not delay to come  
hither



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hither to me within a Week, where you may come soon enough to be present at the Business of the Campaign: But if you resolve upon the Monastick Life, let me know *where, when, and on what Day* you will execute your Resolution, that I may rest satisfied, and know what I have to expect from you. Send me back your final Answer by the same Courier that shall bring you my Letter.

In the first place, let me know the Day you will set out from *Petersburgh*; and in the second, when you will perform your Vow. I again tell you, that I absolutely insist on it, that you determine upon something; for otherwise I shall judge that you seek only to gain Time, to spend it in your accustomed Laziness.

*In the Original signed,*  
PETER.

The Czarewitz, in contempt of his Majesty's Orders, made his Escape by the way; pretending, when he left *Petersburgh*, that he was going to attend upon his Majesty; and as he was on his Journey, he wrote him a fraudulent Letter, falsely dated from *Koningsberg*, instead of *Litwau*, to prevent his Father from sending any body after him, as he expressly owned in his Confession.

Upon the Advice which his Majesty received of his Escape at *Amsterdam*, he immediately dispatched the Resident *Weselowski* in quest of him; and afterwards sent Mr. *Rumanzow*, Captain of the Guard; and lastly from *Spaa*, Mr. *Tolsioi*, Privy-Counsellor and Captain of the Guard, with the said Captain *Kumanzow*; by whom his Majesty wrote the following Letter with his own Hand on the 10th of July 1717.

*My Son,*

**Y**OUR Disobedience and Contempt of my Orders are known to all the World. Neither Entreaty, nor Correction, has been able to make you follow my Instructions; and after having deceived me, when I last took my Leave of you, and despised the Oath you then made, you have carried your Disobedience to the utmost length of Excess by your Flight, and the throwing  
yourself,

yourself, as a Traitor, under a foreign Protection; a Thing hitherto unheard of, not only in our Family, but even among our Subjects of any Consideration. How great an Uneasiness and Concern have you hereby caused your Father, and what a Shame have you brought upon your Country?

This is the last Time I shall write to you, to let you know that you have nothing more to do than to comply with what Messieurs *Tolstoi* and *Rumanzow* shall lay before you from me, and satisfy you to be my Pleasure.

If you comply with me, I assure you by this Present, and promise to God, and his Judgment, that I will not punish you; and if you will submit to my Will, and be obedient to me now, upon your Return, I will love you more than I have ever done. But if not, by virtue of the Power I have received from God, as a Father, I lay upon you my eternal Curse, for the Contempt and Offences you have committed against your Father; and as your Sovereign, I assure you, that I shall find Means to deal with you under that Capacity, in which I hope that God will assist me, and take my just Defence in hand.

Lastly, Remember that I have offered you no Violence in any thing. Was it requisite that I should leave it to your free Choice to take what Part you pleased? If I had been inclined to force you, had I not Power in my Hand to have done it? I need only to command, and I should have been obeyed.

*Signed in the Original,*

PETER.

The Czarewitz wrote the following Letter from *Naples*, to his Czarian Majesty, on the 4th of *October* 1717.

*Most Clement Lord and Father,*

I HAVE received your Majesty's most gracious Letter, by Messieurs *Tolstoi* and *Rumanzow*; in which, as also by Word of Mouth, I am most graciously assured of Pardon, for having fled without your Permission, in case I return. I give you most hearty Thanks  
with

with Tears in my Eyes, and own myself unworthy of all Favour. I throw myself at your Feet, and implore your Clemency, and beseech you to pardon my Crimes, who have deserved all kind of Punishment. But I rely upon your gracious Assurances; and submitting to your Pleasure, shall set out immediately from *Naples*, to attend your Majesty at *Petersburgh*, with those whom your Majesty has sent.

*Your most humble and unworthy Servant, who  
deserves not to be called your Son,*

ALEXIS.

On the 3<sup>d</sup> of *February* of the present Year 1718, the Czarewitz was brought to *Moscow* by Messieurs *Tolstoi* and *Rumanzow*, and carried before his Czarian Majesty into the great Hall of the Castle, where, in the Presence of all the People, he made Confession of his voluntary Flight, and at the same time presented a Writing under his Hand, drawn up in the following Terms.

*Most Clement Lord and Father,*

AFTER having acknowledged my Transgression before you, my Father and my Lord, I here present you with the Confession of my Crimes, I sent from *Naples*. I now farther confess, that I have transgressed the Duties of a Son and a Subject, in flying, and throwing myself under the Emperor's Protection, and in suing for his Support. I humbly beg your gracious Pardon and Mercy.

*Your most humble and helpless Servant, unworthy  
to be called your Son,*

ALEXIS.

His Majesty then declared to him, That it was his Will he should truly declare all the Particulars and Circumstances of his Escape; who had advised it, with whatever bore any relation to it: That if he told the Truth without Disguise, Reserve, and Restriction, he would grant him his Pardon. But that if he did not make a full Discovery, and name all the Persons who were Accomplices of the Fact, or should conceal any thing



thing relating to it, the Promise should be void and of no Effect.

Whereupon the Czarewitz promised and engaged to his Czarian Majesty, to declare the whole Truth, as before God, without any Dissimulation; and he kissed the Holy Gospels, and the Holy Cross before the Altar of the Cathedral Church, in Testimony of the Promise he had made of a full Discovery.

He then gave his Majesty to understand in the same Cathedral Church, That he had been obliged by the Imperial Court to write three Letters, two to the Archbishops, and one to the Senate, upon account of his leaving the Country, the Contents of which shall be afterwards explained.

On the 4<sup>th</sup> of *February* his Czarian Majesty wrote as follows, with reference to the Articles given to the Czarewitz.

AS you received your Pardon Yesterday, on condition of discovering all the Circumstances of your Escape, and whatsoever relates to it; and to suffer Death if you should conceal or dissemble any thing; you then explained yourself in some Points by Word of Mouth. But for more Satisfaction, and for your full Discharge, do it also in Writing, in the following Order.

# I.

Was there any premeditated Design in the Answer you gave to the Letter you received from me upon the Interment of your Spouse, or in your Reply to what I afterwards wrote upon the same Subject? And as you always desired to go into a Convent, both by your Letters, and Discourse when I took Leave of you before my Departure from *Petersburgh*, and it is now clear that all this was no other than Dissimulation on your side; tell me with whom you contrived it, and who are those that know you acted only with a Design to deceive me?

The Czarewitz gave in the following Answer to his Czarian Majesty upon these Articles, and signed it with his own Hands.

*The Answer to the first and following Points.*

*Most Clement Lord and Father,*

I Communicated and read the Letters I received from your Majesty, after the Interment of my Spouse, to *Alexander Kikin* and *Nicephorus Wasenski*; and consulted both of them in particular. 'Tis possible they might have Confidence in each other, however they were consulted separately.

They advised me to renounce the Succession, and even to demand to be discharged from it, by reason of my bad Health. I was also desirous of it myself, and wrote sincerely, and without Artifice, or Ill-meaning\*. For why should I take that upon me, I was not able to bear?

The same Persons also advised me to retire into a Convent, and to say that I was minded, by this means, to discharge myself of the Burthen of the Succession.

They spoke thus to me, *If there is no other Remedy, the surest way is to go into a Convent, as this will deprive you of the Succession.*

They spoke in the same manner upon the Occasion of your taking Leave, and told me, that to comply with what had been concerted, I must say the same thing I had written, even tho' I had no Design to put it in Execution, as I have already declared by Word of Mouth. And as you, my Lord, then told me, that I ought maturely to consider the Design I declared myself resolved upon, of retiring into a Monastery, I was in hopes I could have delayed the Matter.

*Alexander Kikin* took a Journey to *Carlsbad*, not long after your Departure from *Petersburgh*, and about a Fortnight before (for I was at my Country-house when he set out) he told me, *he was going to seek a Place for me some where or other, and I expected Notice from him, as designing to make my Escape.*

I have clearly expressed myself upon what relates to my Escape under the third Article of my Interrogatory.

\* *This he wrote fraudulently, as it afterwards appeared.*

To return to the Time of my first Answer to your Letter.

I was with Prince *Basile Nolodimerowitz Dolgoruki*, and with Count *Frederick Matwyewitz Apraxin*, before I sent my Answer to your Majesty. I desired them, when your Majesty spoke to them of me, to persuade you to deprive me of the Succession, and to let me live upon some private Estate, to spend the rest of my Days there. *Frederick Matwyewitz* answered, *If your Father speaks of it to me, I shall give him that Advice.* Prince *Basile* said the same thing, adding, *Send him a thousand Letters; who knows what will happen, when the Case in view comes to be Fact? You know the old Proverb, Ulita yedett, kolita boudet; The Time will come, but God knows when. It is not one of the Bargains made by the good Men in Times past, that if a Man did not perform, he was obliged to pay for it.*

When I had sent this Letter, Prince *Basile* came to me in your Name, to bid me shew him the Answer your Majesty had wrote. I read it to him, and he said, *I have spoke of you to your Father; I believe he will deprive you of the Succession, and he seems to be satisfied with your Letter.*

He desired a Minute of it from me: I read it to him, because he had advised me to mention my Brother in the Terms I did. When I had read it, he told me it was well, and he repeated to me the aforesaid Words, adding, *Enjoy yourself at present, you have nothing now further to do.*

As to *Frederick Matwyewitz*, I do not remember whether I shewed the Letter to him or no; but I wrote it in Concert with *Kikin* and *Nicephorus*, both apart; having sent them Copies sealed up by *Basile Barikof*, because *Kikin* living at a Distance from me, I had not always an Opportunity of conversing with him; besides that he had given me Notice, there were Spies from your Court, to observe who came to visit me. When I asked how he knew that, he said that some of your Court had told him so, but he did not name them.

As to *Barikof*, I cannot say whether he knew what the Letters were he carried from me to *Kikin*, at least I never told him; for I only ordered him to carry them

them privately to *Kikin*, who always sent them back to me sealed up, after he had corrected them.

*Kikin* advised me to renounce the Succession, saying, *You'll be at rest when you have given up all, which is much better. I know the Weakness of your Complexion will not allow you to carry so heavy Burthen as the Crown: You have done ill not to give it up yourself; but the Business is over, you have no longer Time to provide a Remedy.*

*Nicephorus* spoke thus, *What signifies a Crown, provided you have your Ease?* I consulted the same *Kikin* and *Nicephorus*, upon my second Letter to your Majesty, but without sending it to them, or their sending it back to me, so far as I remember, because the Time was short; only I know that *Kikin* came once to me, as I think, and told me, before the Letter was yet written, that I ought to retire into the Convent: *For, says he, The Frock is not nailed to one's Head; one may lay it aside at any Time, and hang it on a Hook.* He farther added, *All is well at present; who knows what may afterwards happen?*

The Discourse *Nicephorus* then had with me does not at present come into my Memory: I only remember that he said, *If there's no other Expedient, send for your Confessor, and tell him that you are forced to retire into a Monastery; he may tell it to the Archbishop of Resan, that they may not think you are shaven for any Crime.*

I followed this Advice of *Nicephorus*, and having spoke of it to my Confessor *George*, Arch-priest of the Cathedral Church of *Petersburgh*, he answered, *I shall tell him at a convenient Time.* I afterwards asked him whether he had told him, and he answered, No; upon which I bad him not mention it for the future. I know not what View *Nicephorus* had in advising me to act thus; but the Confessor knew nothing of the Conferences I held with *Kikin*, nor did I ever enter into any Deliberation with him.

After having sent my second Letter to your Majesty, I wrote two others to my Confessor *James* and to *John Kikin*; I let them know that I was going by Force into the Convent, and desired they would give the Person  
who

who carried the Letter a certain Sum of Money, out of that which they then had of mine in their Hands; I do not remember the Sum. I said to the Girl, whom I sent with the two Letters sealed, *If I should die* (for I was then sick) *carry these two Letters to the Persons they are addressed to, and they will give you some Money.* It was the Girl who attended upon me.

She kept these Letters in a small Cabinet, but she knew nothing of those which I received from your Majesty, or of my Answers. I took her with me by Artifice, when I had resolved to make my Escape. I told her, I should carry her only to *Riga*; and from thence I brought her farther, making her believe, as I did the rest of my Attendants, that I had Orders to go to *Vienna*, to form an Alliance against the *Ottoman Porte*, and that I was obliged to travel privately, lest the *Turks* should have Notice of it; and this was all the People about me knew of the Matter.

Lastly, Those who had any farther Knowledge of my aforesaid Letter to your Majesty, are Prince *Yuiga*, *Yuriewitz*, *Trubetskoy*, and the *Czarewitz* of *Siberia*; but but they never saw the Letter itself. Prince *Trubetskoy* asked me about three Weeks after, *What Letter was that your Father gave you, when I was present? Were the Contents of it good or bad?* I told him the Subject of it, and my Answer. *You do well*, says he, *not to lay Claim to the Succession. There are Crosses and Afflictions in the midst of Grandeur and Riches.* I answered, he was most certainly in the right. The *Siberian* asked me, *What Letters were those which Makaroff brought you? We all know the Contents of them.* He told it the same Day to Prince *James Dolgoruki*. I owned it to him, and gave him a Sum of Ducats to pay my Mistress for her Subsilence when I should be retired into the Convent; but I took the Money back some few Days after. The Persons who knew of it were, *Nicephorus Vassenski*, *John Affonassief*, and Counsellor *George*. But for the Letters, I do not remember whether I mentioned them to the Confessor or no; at least he knew nothing of my Escape.



II.

Did they not in their Discourse, during my great Illness at *Petersburgh*, express an earnest Desire to join with you, in case I should die?

ANSWER.

I never heard any Body speak upon that Subject, whilst you was ill, in case you should die.

III.

Is it long since you form'd the Project of your Escape, and with whom did you concert it? For as you acted so suddenly in this Affair, it may be supposed that it was premeditated for a long Time.

Declare openly the whole Matter, with whom, and in what Place; whether by Word of Mouth, or Correspondence by Letter, or by what Channel?

Farther, By whose Counsel did you write the afore-said fraudulent Letter by the Way? Who assisted you in it? And for what Reason did you write it? And have you not wrote besides to some other Person during your Absence?

ANSWER.

I have frequently, and at different Times, discoursed with the said *Kikin*, and especially before I received your Letters, and returned my Answer to them. The Purport of our Discourse was as follows:

That if I once arrived in any foreign Country, wheresoever it was, I should continue there, tho' it were only to live at quiet, and be absent from Business.

Notwithstanding, I was not very hasty to execute this Project; but when I set out from *Carlsbad*, *Kikin* said to me, *When you are recovered, write to your Father, and tell him you are still to take Medicines till Spring, then you may go into Holland, and after that into Italy, when the Medicines are taken. And thus you may continue absent for two or three Years.*

I wrote to him from *Carlsbad*, to know whether I should proceed or not in the Manner we had agreed upon; and he made me this Answer, *How can you do it without your Father's Permission? You have Cause to fear,*

*fear, lest he should be angry; write to him, and ask his Leave; but do not forget your own Business.*

I could not understand what he meant by these Words; and when I had changed the Resolution I had taken of going into *Holland*, and was come back to *Petersburgh*, I found *Kikin* there, who was condemned to Banishment by the Proceedings which were then on foot against him; but as he was not any longer under an Arrest, I had an Opportunity of discoursing with him. He asked me, *If any one had been with me from the Court of France?* I told him, *I had seen no Body.* He answered, *You was much in the wrong not to have held a Correspondence with the Court of France, and retired thither. The King is a Prince of a great Soul, and gives Protection to Kings themselves; and it would have been no great Trouble to him to have protected you.*

I asked him what he meant in his Letter by those Words, *That I should not forget my own Affairs.* He answered, *I meant, that you should have retired into France; for I durst not write plainly to you, and you might have guessed at my Meaning.*

As to the last Escape, which I actually put in Execution, I never consulted with any Body before about it, but having received your Letter, from *Copenhagen*, and finding I was at liberty to leave *Russia*, in consequence of the preceding Discourse with *Kikin*, I took the Resolution of retiring somewhere or other, either to the Emperor, or into some Republick, to *Venice* or *Switzerland*, but I communicated my Design to no Body; I only let the elder *Affonassief* know that I was resolved to fly into some one of the aforesaid Places, without explaining precisely whither, for I had not yet absolutely determined upon it.

I farther told him, that I had formerly spoke with *Kikin* upon this Subject, who had probably found me a proper Place of Retirement, as he was now in those Quarters; and that when I should meet him, he would advise me what I should do; and if I did not find him, I would go into one or other of the Places mentioned.

I never

I never before that Time had any Discourse upon this Subject with the said *John Assonassief*, nor with any other Person, except *Kikin*, either by Word or Writing, or after any other Manner; nor was there held a Consultation upon any Pretext whatsoever. None of my Domesticks, nor any Stranger had the least Notice of my Escape, except those whom I have named above. *John Assonassief* said to me, *I am resolved to keep your Secret, but it will be a great Misfortune to us if you go away, consider what you do.*

When I met *Kikin* at *Libau*, and asked him whether he had found me a Place, *Yes*, said he, *I'd have you go to Vienna, to the Emperor; they will not deliver you up.* And then he told me how he had liyed at *Vienna*.

I asked him what Business had carried him to *Vienna*, whether it was mine, or any other? For, said I, tho' you told me, before my Departure, you would go and seek a Place for me, you never writ me any Thing about it. He answered, *I had no other Business than yours; I desired Leave of the Czarienne, Princess Mary Alexewna, to go to Vienna upon my own private Business, and she ordered me to persuade Broforofski to return.*

I then asked him what I should do if they sent some Body to meet me at *Dantzick* or *Konigsberg*. *Escape*, said he, *alone by Night, or at least take with you but one Servant; let what will come of the Baggage, and the rest; but if they should send two Persons to you, feign yourself sick, and make one of them go before, whilst you escape with the other.*

As to the fraudulent Letter, it was written from *Libau*, by the Advice of *Kikin*, and dated from *Konigsberg*, that no one might observe he had any Hand in it; for I saw him publickly there.

The Letter was given to Prince *Chakofski*, Captain of the Regiment of *Semenow*, who was ordered to send it by the Post: But the Captain knew nothing of our Affairs; and the Design of writing this Letter, was to prevent any Person, by this Means, from being sent after me.

The same *Kikin* farther made me write a Letter to *John Assonassief*, the Elder, as I told him that he was acquainted



acquainted with what we had concerted, and with my Escape, to let him know that he should follow me, and that I had left for him, with the Post-Master of *Dantzick*, the Address whither he should come: *Kikin* reasoned thus, If *Affonassief* be no longer at *Petersburgh*, this Matter cannot be discovered; for, except we two and him, no Body knows any Thing of it: As for me, says he, I was not at *Petersburgh* when you set out, and thus no Suspicion will fall upon me; but if *Affonassief* continues there, it is to be feared lest something should escape him with some Body or other.

I told him that I did not think *Affonassief* would leave the Place; upon which *Kikin* added, In this Case write him a second Letter, implying that no Discourses ever passed between you and him upon this Matter; and that you had only taken this Resolution as you was upon your Journey, and bid him take your Jewels with him, and come after you.

I do not remember the Name of the Town, where he said I should write to *Affonassief* to join me; I, says he, will tell him to shew your Letter to Prince *Menzikoff*, as if he discover'd the Secret to him; and thus there will be no Information made against him.

He farther bid me write to Prince *Basile*, a Letter of Acknowledgment for his Kindness, which I would endeavour to repay in due Time. For, says *Kikin*, if any Suspicion of your Escape should fall upon me, I will immediately make Mention of your Letter to Prince *Basile*, and say, it appears from thence that the Scheme had been concerted with him, because you had made him Acknowledgments, and that I had intercepted your Letter.

*Kikin* took this Letter along with him, but I don't know whether he deliver'd it: But with the other Letters to *Affonassief*, he had writ also to Prince *Menzikoff*, to give Orders to *Affonassief* for the Posts, and to dispatch him; and that I should also thank him for having advised me to take my Mistress along with me. Perhaps, says *Kikin*, he will shew this Letter to your Father, and that will bring him into some Suspicion with him.

As to Prince *Menzikoff*, the Case was thus: When I was with him before my Departure, he asked me, where I would leave my Mistress? I told him, I would take her with me as far as *Riga*, and then send her back hither. You had better, says he, take her with you: And indeed, my Intention was, without this, to have taken her with me, tho' I said, I would take her no farther than *Riga*, in order to cover my Design of running away.

It was for this Reason I did not tell the Truth, not even to her, for Fear something of it should fall from her; and when I mention'd it to *Kikin*, it was upon this he bad me write as above to Prince *Menzikoff*; but the Prince knew nothing of my Design to escape, nor was Prince *Basile* in the least acquainted with it.

After this I took Leave of *Kikin*, who desired I would let both him and *Affonassief* know where I was upon my Journey, and that I should write to him in these Terms; "That I had safely passed *Dantzick*, "and without Danger from the Confederates; and "that I pursued my Journey." Write no more, says he, we shall understand this very well.

I followed his Directions, and wrote to them from *Stargard*; but to remove all Suspicion from him, I wrote also to others, who knew nothing of my Designs concerted with *Kikin*, nor of my Escape; particularly I wrote to *Nicephorus Vassenski*; to *Theodore Dubrofsky*; to the *Czarewitz Siberien*, and to *John Naraskin*, and all the same Terms I had written to *John*; that in Case my Letters were intercepted, no Suspicion might be formed from them, as they were all alike.

None of the Persons mentioned knew any Thing of my Flight except *Kikin* and *John*.

These Letters were sent to *Riga*, to *Peter Galitzin*, that he might dispatch them for *Petersburgh*; and after this I wrote no more Letters into *Russia*, except from *Courland* and *Livonia*, at my own House, upon private Affairs; and farther, I wrote to *Dubrofski* concerning certain Books which belonged to me, that he formerly had in his Hands; as also certain other Moveables that were in his Keeping.

This

This was all that passed then.

Prince *Peter Galitzin* knew nothing of my Escape.

Farther, I know not whether the Letters in Question were received or not, because no Body wrote to me from *Russia*.

*Kikin* farther said, if your Father sends any one to persuade you to return, don't do it; he'll cause you to be beheaded. I then said, I am glad you have found out a Place for me; but if my Father had not written to me to come to him, how should I have got off? He answer'd, You should have made as if you had said that you would go to him of yourself, and by this Means you might have escaped.

#### IV.

Did you receive any Letters during your Absence, or hold any Correspondence with any *Russian*, directly, or indirectly? Or have you conversed any other Way, and in what Manner? Had you no News at all from *Russia*, nor did you know any Thing of the Affairs of the Country, so far as they relate to you and me?

#### ANSWER.

I had no News whilst I was upon the Road during my Flight, neither from *Russia* nor elsewhere; neither by Writing, nor Word of Mouth, directly, nor indirectly; nor by any other Ways, either of the Affairs here, or of any Thing else, except that I received Advice from the Count of *Schonborn* at *Ebrenberg*:

First, that Notice was given that I was amongst them, and that I ought to live private and keep myself conceal'd.

The second Time, when *Weselowski* spoke of me at *Vienna*.

I don't exactly call to Mind to which of these two Letters there was join'd the Copy of another from *Bleyer*, importing in Substance, that certain Enquiries had been made after my Departure, among my Domesticks; and that there was a Mutiny in the Army which is in *Mecklenbourg*, and particularly in the Regiment of Guards, which are, for the most Part, made up of the

Nobility; that they had a Design upon the Life of the Czar; and talked of sending the Czarina, with her Son, into the Place where the old Czarina was, in order to bring her to *Moscow*, and place her Son upon the Throne, when he should be found, it not being known what was become of him.

This Letter was left behind with my other Papers.

I also received another Letter from the Count of *Schonborn*, upon the Subject of my Journey from *Naples*.

I never wrote to any Body in Cyphers during my Absence, nor did I ever receive any News, except what I mentioned, and the printed *Gazettes*.

V.

When, where, and why was the *Greek Priest* with you?

ANSWER.

There was no *Greek Priest* with me at any Time since my Departure from *Petersburgh*, till the Arrival of *Messieurs Tolstoi* and *Rumanzow* at *Naples*.

VI.

Tell at least the Substance of the Letter the Imperialists forced you to write upon this Affair, tho' you can't repeat it Word for Word; and which of the Imperialists obliged you to write it; when, and where; who of your Followers had any Knowledge of it; to whom you deliver'd it; whether you did not take Minutes of it; and if it is true, that the Imperialists forced you to do it?

ANSWER.

The Secretary of Count *Schonborn*, whose Name was *Kiel*, forced me to write Letters to the Senate, and to the Archbishops, when he conducted me to *Naples*, into the Quarter of the Viceroy; *Wingarten's* Secretary saying, that I ought to write into *Russia* to the said Persons, because, he said, they had Advice that I was dead; and others told them that I was taken and carried into *Siberia*: Either therefore, says he, write to them, or we will keep you no longer.

And indeed he did not go out of my Chamber till I had written; and upon this Constraint of the Secretary

I wrote to the Senate, and the two Archbishops of *Rostou* and *Kouditz*, to the Effect following; for I knew very little of them.

“ I believe that you, and every one else, have been  
 “ much surprized at my Departure, unknown to all  
 “ the World. The ill Treatment I have received, even  
 “ to the Design of being confined in a Convent, has  
 “ obliged me to it: but God has procured me the Op-  
 “ portunity of retiring to a Distance. I am under the  
 “ Protection of an eminent Person, (I was not permit-  
 “ ted to name him) ’till the Time it shall please God  
 “ to recal me. In the mean Time, I beg of you not  
 “ to forget me, and if any of those who are desirous  
 “ to wipe me out of the Memory of Men, shall spread  
 “ a Report that I am dead, or raise any other injurious  
 “ Rumour, give no Credit to it, and disabuse others :  
 “ For I both live, and am in good Health, Thanks be  
 “ to God, and my Benefactors who protect me, and  
 “ and who have also promised not to forsake me, and to  
 “ assist me in all my Necessities. I am, whilst I live,  
 “ full of all good Wishes for you, and the whole  
 “ Country.”

This was the Substance of the Letter, but I do not exactly remember it Word for Word. As they would not suffer me to take a Copy of it, I have only the Letter as I begun to write it; but it was not finished on that Paper, because it was ill written. This Paper was all I had, instead of a foul Copy. It is not written in the same Terms, but it is the same in Effect; it is also with my other Papers.

When I had written this Letter, I gave it to the Secretary I spoke of, who carried it with him, without my knowing whither he went. He only told me he was going to *Vienna*, and I was put into the Castle of *St. Elme*.

Upon my Arrival at *Vienna*, I addressed myself to the Count *de Schonborn*, to demand Protection. He told me he would go to the Emperor, and know his Will; but take Care, says he, that *Weselowski* does not see you.

Upon his Return from the Emperor, he said he was not come to any Resolution, but that he had ordered him



him to talk with Prince *Eugene*, and Count *Staremborg*, upon this Subject.

After this Conference it was resolved to take me into Protection, and send me to some Fortrefs; the Count saying to me, What will you do at *Vienna*? You will be known there, and especially by *Weselowski*. The Emperor will not forsake you, and when there shall be Occasion, after your Father's Death, he will assist you in the Recovery of the Throne, with an armed Force. I told him I did not ask so much, \* but only that the Emperor would grant me his Protection, which was the utmost of my Wishes.

VIII.

Declare to us, and discover whatever can have any Relation to this Affair, tho' it be not here expressed; and clear yourself, as if it were at Confession.

For if you conceal any Thing of what shall be discovered by any other Means, do not impute the Consequence of it to me; for you was told Yesterday, that in case you concealed any Thing, the Pardon granted you should be null and void.

ANSWER.

I will tell every Thing that has any Relation to this Affair.

Prince *Menzikoff* gave me a thousand Ducats, at my Departure from *Peterburgh*; and when I took Leave of the Senators, they also gave me a thousand Ducats; and as they had not then so many Ducats by them, they gave me the Sum in two thousand Roubles.

I farther borrowed of *Ilia Isaiew* five thousand Ducats in Specie, and two thousand in current Silver, which an Officer of the Garrison changed into Ducats.

Neither Prince *Menzikoff*, nor the Senators, nor *Ilia Isaiew* knew any Thing of my Escape. I told them that I was going to attend upon you at *Copenhagen*, and they gave me the Money upon that Supposition.

It was *Affonassief* who advised me to borrow of *Ilia Isaiew*. What I farther have heard at different Times,

\* He has made a quite different Declaration below.

and from different Persons, which may deserve Mention, is as follows :

I heard the \* Czarewitz of Siberia say these Words : Michael Samarin *has told me, That in a little Time Things will be changed with you ; don't forget me when you are in Prosperity ; for all that Samarin says, comes to pass.*

He did not say what this Change would be.

The same Person told me, in *March, 1716*, that there would be a Change on the 1st of *April*; and when I asked him what Change, he said, either the Czar would die, or *Petersburgh* would be overthrown, and that he had seen it in a Dream.

When the Day was pass'd, I ask'd him why nothing had happen'd? He told me, This may fall out some Years hence upon this Day. I did not say it would be this Year, only take Notice of the 1st of *April*; but as to the Year I know nothing of it.

*Nicephorus Vassenski* being come from *Moscow* to *Thorn*, told me he had heard *Alexander Sergeiof* say, That the Czar would not live above five Years; but I don't know how he knows it.

When I was in the Neighbourhood of *Stetin*, Prince *Basile Dolgoruki*, being on Horseback, address'd himself to me, and said, If the Czarina was not with the Czar, we could not live for the Severity of his Temper; and that he would be the first to betray him at *Stetin*.

*In the Original was signed,*

*In the Castle of Preobrazinki,  
February the 8th, 1718.*

*All this has declared your  
most humble Servant,  
and SON, ALEXIS.*

*There were farther declared in the Czarewitz's Confession,  
the following Particulars:*

*As a Supplement to the Points of the Interrogatory given  
above, I now declare, for my Discharge, what before I  
had forgotton.*

**D**ISCOURSING with *Frederick Dubrofski* at my Departure, I do not remember what Day it was, he

\* *The Czarewitz of Siberia afterwards cleared the said Samarin, saying in his Interrogatories, that he did not bear him bold that Discourse.*

he asked me, \* *Do you go to your Father? Go, for the Love of God.* I told him I was taking a Journey, but God knew whether it was to him, or somewhere else. He said, several others of your Rank have found their Safety in Flight, I believe your Relations will not forsake you.

*Simon Naraskin* meeting me between *Memel* and *Königsberg*, said to me, You have done ill to come, you might have staid where you were; we, who are faithful to you, have considered of it, and *Kikin* wrote to you.

I told him I could not guess at what he meant in his Letter. He said, that at present Matters must go as they were.

*John Assonassief*, before my Departure, and whilst I was communicating to him my Design of escaping, brought me the Orders I was to sign for my Domestick Affairs, in order to regulate what was to be done during my Absence, according to my Custom when I took any Journey. I asked him, to what Purpose I should sign it, when I was making my Escape. This, says he, will serve to justify me. He also proposed to me, to send my Men and Furniture to *Copenhagen*, to save Appearances.

It was he who advised me to carry my Mistress with me by Way of Stratagem, as I have already mentioned in the preceeding Discourse, and not to tell her, nor any other of my Domesticks who went with me, that I had a Design to fly.

He farther advised me to borrow upwards of five thousand Ducats of *Ilia Isaiew*. This appears from the Payments made, and is already mentioned above.

All this was done by his Advice.

The Czarewitz wrote with his own Hand in his Confession to the Articles of this Examination, drawn up by his Czarian Majesty, the Names of some Persons who had advised his Escape, and were acquainted with it, but he did not name them all; for at the same Time he concealed a considerable Number of them, as also his Design of Rebellion, and Conspiracy against his Czarian

\* He did not tell this till after the Execution of the Criminals began, for fear it should be discovered without him.



Majesty, his Lord and Father, of which he did not declare nor discover any Thing.

Particularly upon the fourth Article of his Examination, the Czarewitz wrote in his Confessions, as has been mentioned above, that whilst he was absent, he had received no Letters from any Person, either from *Russia*, or elsewhere, concerning any Thing, except what Count *Schonborn* wrote to him at *Ehrenberg*: First, that there was Advice he was with them, and that he should live privately: And secondly, when the Resident *Weselowski* had spoken of him at *Vienna*, pursuant to the Orders of the Court: That he, the Czarewitz, did not remember to which of these two Letters of Count *Schonborn* was joined the Copy of a Letter from the Resident *Bleyer*, implying that there had been some Tumult after his Departure, in the Army which is in the Country of *Mecklenbourg*. And farther, he had a Letter from the said *Schonborn*, that he, the Czarewitz, was to be conveyed to *Naples*, and that he received no other Letters at *Naples*.

However, since the Papers of the Czarewitz were brought hither, there were now found Proofs that the Czarewitz had received three Letters from the said Imperial Minister, Count *Schonborn*, and that in one of them Mention was made of an inclosed Sheet, containing what was written from *Moscow*. The Czarewitz however, in his Confession, had acknowledged only one Paper inclosed, which was joined to *Schonborn's* Letter, which was written in *February*, and particularly the Copy of *Bleyer's* Letter, written from *Petersburgh*; but he concealed what was specified in *Schonborn's* other Letter, *they write from Moscow*.

This third Letter of *Schonborn's*, dated the 27<sup>th</sup> of *February*, 1717, imports, that the World began to talk of his being lost; some saying that he had run away by Reason of his Father's Cruelty; others, that he had been put to Death by his Order; and some, that he was killed by Robbers on the Road; but no Body precisely knew where he was. That he inclosed out of Curiosity an Account of what was written from *Petersburgh* concerning him; but that they advised the unfortunate

unfortunate Czarewitz, for his own Advantage, to keep him as much concealed as might be, because there would be an exact Enquiry into this Affair, when the Czar, his Father, should return from *Amsterdam*.

However, the Czarewitz said nothing, in his Confession, of this third Letter, which was sent him with the inclosed from *Moscow*.

The Czarewitz had written in his Confession, that Count *Schonborn's* Secretary, one *Keil*, had forced him to write to the Senate and the Archbishops, when he conveyed them to *Naples*, in the Apartment of the Secretary of the Viceroy, *Wingarten*; that *Keil* had said to him, If you'll not write, we will not protect you; and that he did not leave him till he had written.

That the Czarewitz being constrained by this Secretary, had at last written to the Senate, and the two Archbishops of *Rostou* and *Kouditz*, in Substance as is mentioned above, in the Examination; that they had not allowed him to take Minutes of these Letters, and that there only remained a Piece of one of them, &c. as in the aforesaid Confession.

However, there were found in the Possession of his Mistress *Afrosini*, among the Papers of the Czarewitz, the genuine Minutes written and finished with his own Hand, and answerable to the Letter he left with the Imperialists; and the Contents of them were as follows:

*To the SENATE.*

*Most Excellent SENATORS,*

I Believe you will be no less surprized than the rest of the World at my leaving my Country, without any one's knowing the Place of my Residence: Continued ill Treatments and Disorders have obliged me to quit my dearest Country. There was a Design to throw me into a Convent in the Beginning of the Year 1716, without my having done any Thing that may deserve it; none of you can be ignorant of it, but God of his Mercy has preserved me, by offering me an Opportunity the last *Autumn* of retiring from my dear Country, and you, whom I should not have resolved to

leave, if I had not been reduced to the Circumstances I then found myself in.

I am at present easy and in good Health, under the Protection of a certain eminent Person, till God, who has preserved me, shall call me back to my dear Country.

I beg you would not forsake me then, and for the present give no Credit to the Reports which may be spread abroad concerning my Death, or otherwise, through the Desire they have to blot me out of the Memory of Men. For God has me in his Keeping, and my Benefactors will not forsake me. This they have promised me, as also to assist me hereafter in Case of Need.

I am yet alive, and shall always continue full of good Wishes for your Excellencies, and all the whole Country.

*To the ARCHBISHOPS.*

*Most Sacred \* Vladiko,*

**I** Imagine your Holiness will be as much surprized as the rest of the World, at my having left the Country without their Knowledge: The continued ill Treatments I have undeservedly received have obliged me to it, and I was very near being shut up in a Convent.

I believe that you are not ignorant of it; the Design was founded by the same Persons who have treated my Mother in the same Manner: But the great God has been moved by your Prayers, and preserved me, and led me under the Protection of a great Prince; I find myself easy and in good Health, till it shall please God to bring about my Return; in this Case I beg of you not to forsake me at present.

If there is, or has been any Report concerning me, as tho' I were dead, or any others of a like Nature, (for they have a Mind to blot me out of the Memory of Men) give no Credit to it, and be so kind as to satisfy well-intentioned Persons of the Contrary; for I am alive, and wish all possible Happiness to you.

*\* This is a Title given to Archbishops to denote their Primacy.*

The

The Czarewitz, in his Examination, made no Mention of the aforesaid Expression, *in this Case do not forsake me at present*, and the Word *at present* was twice written and blotted out.

The Imperial Court kept these Letters at *Vienna*, and so they were not sent to *Petersburgh*; but his Czarian Majesty charged the Resident *Weselowski* to demand of the Emperor, the Reason why they had forced the Czarewitz to write them, and desired that they would deliver them. The Resident *Abraham Weselowski* made Answer to this in his Relation of the 28<sup>th</sup> of May.

That upon his Representation, Prince *Eugene* had given him Notice, by Order of the Emperor, that the Vice Chancellor, Count *Schonborn*, had been examined in Presence of all the Ministry, upon the three Letters of the Czarewitz *Alexis Petrowitz*, and that it appeared in Effect, That the Czarewitz sent of himself his Letters to the Vice-Chancellor to be dispatched into *Poland*, in order to give Notice of his Retreat; but that these Letters had not been sent, and were still in their Hands; That they had even shewn them to him sealed up, without an Inscription, but that they had not restored them to him: Prince *Eugene* saying, That the Emperor had never ordered these Letters to be demanded of the Czarewitz, and that it was impossible Count *Schonborn* should have forced him to it without Orders.

Afterwards, when the Czarewitz learnt that the other Persons were begun to be examined, he presented his Czarian Majesty with another Confession in Writing.

*Frederick Dubrofski* owned upon Examination, That he was acquainted with the Flight of the Czarewitz; that he had discoursed with him upon it, and had advised him to escape; and yet the Czarewitz had concealed *Dubrofski* in his first Examination, and declared he knew nothing of his Design, or his Conferences with *Kikin*.

*Simon Narafskin* owned upon Examination, That having met the Czarewitz between *Memel* and *Konigsberg*, he said to him by *Kikin*'s Order, *You have done Wrong to come hither, you might have tarried where you was, and a long Time too.*



When the Proceedings of the Criminal Proceſs of *Sudal* were begun on the 20<sup>th</sup> of *February*, they brought thither from *Roſtou D'Oſſiſe*, the Biſhop of that Town, who confeſſed upon Examination, ſeveral Indecencies which he charged upon the Czarewna *Mary Alexiewna*, and the religious *Helen*, who was formerly Czarina.

After all theſe Examinations were begun, to wit, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of *February*, the Czarewitz gave in a Writing to his Czarian Majeſty, in which he confeſſed, that having met with the ſaid Princeſs *Mary Alexiewna* by the Way, he diſcourſed with her concerning his Mother, the divorced Czarina; but he did not then own that the Princeſs had any Knowledge of his Flight, as he had alſo concealed it in his firſt Confeſſion.

*John Aſſonaſſieſ*, and *Frederick Ebarlakof*, accuſed the Czarewitz in writing upon their Examination: The former, that he had heard his brother ſay, the Czarewitz had ſwore he would cauſe Dame *Anniſſe Tolſtoi*, Prince *Menzikoff*, and his Siſter in Law *Barbara Arſenieſ* to be impaled alive, as he had alſo broke out into violent Expreſſions againſt *Aſſonaſſieſ*.

That being one Day in a Paſſion againſt the great Chancellor Count *Goloſſkin* and Prince *Trubetskoy*, he ſaid they were the Cauſe he had married the Princeſs of the Crown; that they had tied a devilish Woman about his Neck; and added, *That nothing but Death ſhould hinder him from being revenged upon them for it, and that he would cauſe the Head of his Son Alexander Goloſſkin to be fixed upon a Pole.*

*Aſſonaſſieſ* demanding of the Czarewitz how he dared to ſpeak ſo boldly, he answered, *I deſpiſe all the reſt, let the Common People proſper. If I find a Time when my Father is not preſent, I will whisper ſomething in the Ear of the Archbiſhops, which ſhall reduce them to Curates, and their Curates to their Pariſhioners; I am ſure they will make me reign, tho' it ſhould be againſt my Inclination.*

That the Czarewitz was alſo wont to ſay, *Think of my Words, you ſhall ſee that Petersburgh will not continue long.*

And that when the Czarewitz was obliged to attend his Czarian Majeſty, or be preſent with him at any Entertainment,



tainment, or see a Ship lanch'd, he would usually say, That he should rather chuse to go to the Gallies, or have a Fever, than to be present upon those Occasions.

*Frederick Ebarlakof* confessed, that in the Year 1715, whilst the Princess of the Crown was still alive, the Czarewitz trusted to him in Confidence, I am sorry I did not follow the Advice of *Kikin*, and escape into *France*, I should live there more quietly than I do at present, when my Time was come; I should be even better in the Hospital of St. *Michael* at *Kiovia*, or in Prison, than I am here.

The same *Ebarlakof* owned, that the Czarewitz had often taken Physick on purpose, under Pretence of being indisposed, when he was to take a Journey with his Czarian Majesty, that by this Means he might be excused.

So that the Czarewitz concealed all this, and that *Ebarlakof* was not at all acquainted with his Design to escape, or his Conferences with *Kikin*.

Then the Mistress of the Czarewitz, who attended him in his Flight, having been brought hither and examined, whether the Czarewitz did not write other Letters besides the Three to the Senate and the Archbishops, and to whom; as also if she knew of any other Matters relating to him; and if no Discourse had passed between them upon his ill Designs, of which he had made no Mention in his Confessions: She first declared by Word of Mouth, and afterwards wrote with her own Hand as follows.

That after the Three aforementioned Letters, the Czarewitz wrote in the Fortrefs to an Archbishop in the *Russian* Tongue; that there was no Stranger present, only the Czarewitz and her Brother; that this Letter was not wrote immediately upon his Arrival at *Naples*, but a long Time after he was in the Fortrefs; that he sealed the Letter in her Presence, but she did not know who the Archbishop was whom it was address'd to.

That he had also written Letters to the Emperor against the Czar; and even but a little while before the Arrival of Mr. *Tolstoi*, in which Time an Answer might have come.

That as to the Archbishops, he had at some Time praised one of them, whose Name she did not remember.

That the Letters written to the Archbishops, had been sent with Design, that they should receive them privately, by round-about Ways, that they might not become responsible for them if they were put into their Hands.

That the Czarewitz had also mentioned to her the Mutiny of the Army in *Mecklenbourg*, as if he had learnt it from the *Gazettes*, and then told her, *there was already a Rebellion in the neighbouring Towns to Moscow*. That this News was brought him directly by Letters, but he did not say from whom; that he rejoiced at it, and would often say, *You see plainly that Heaven interposes in our Behalf*.

That as to his Escape, she had heard him say, that four Persons were acquainted with it, among whom was the Czarewna *Mary Alexievna*; to whom he said, *I am resolved to hide myself*. That he had also given her to understand, that he proposed to remove all the old Courtiers, and to chuse new ones after his own Liking; but when he heard talk of any Visions, or read in the *Gazettes* that all was quiet at *Petersburgh*, he would say, *This signifies something, either the Death of my Father, or some Rebellion*.

That he had said whilst he was at *Ehrenberg*, that he purposed to retire into some Free Town; and that *Dubrowski*, or Some other, had advised him to it; but when he had taken the Resolution to return to his Father, the same Day he left the Castle of *St. Elme*, he had given her the Minutes of the Letter he had written to the Emperor, which was full of Complaints against his Father; and that he had a Mind to shew them to the Viceroy of *Naples*; but notwithstanding he order'd her to burn them, which she accordingly did: That all these Letters were written in the *Russian* Tongue, and there were several of them, but she did not know whither they were addressed to the Emperor.

That the Secretary of the Viceroy of *Naples*, came to him before the Letters were burnt; that the Czarewitz spoke to him several Words in *German*, which the Secretary wrote down, and filled a whole Sheet; and that in all, he carried away with him five Sheets of Paper.

On the Twelfth of *May* the Czarewitz having been examin'd hereupon, answered as to the Declaration of *Afrosini*,

That he had complained to the Emperor against his Father, but that he had not sent the Letter, having only made an Extract of it; pursuant to which, he laid before the Secretary the Motives of his Escape, and the Reasons why he refused to return; that nothing of it remained in Writing, and the Minutes were burnt; that he had not writ to the Archbishops whilst in the Fortrefs.

That he had spoke of the Letters to the Archbishops, but not in the Sense *Afrosini* had declared; but had only said the Letters were to be left with the Post at *Petersburgh*, and run the Risque of not coming to them; but still that they were not to be given into their own Hands.

That as to the Visions, it might be he had spoke of them in the before-mentioned Manner.

That *Dubroski* and *Affonassief* had advised him to retire into the Free-Towns.

And that indeed he had ordered her to burn the Letters in Question.

He was confronted with *Afrosini*, upon Occasion of the Points he had contested; and the Czarewitz still denied what she had charged him with in her Deposition; but she maintain'd it to his Face, convinc'd him of it, and set it down in Writing.

The same Day the Czarewitz was examin'd upon the preceeding Articles; and at last, after many Convictions, he own'd,

That he had written to the Emperor, the Reasons of his Escape, and of his Refusal to return; but that he did not remember any Thing else.

That he had not absolutely written from the Fortrefs to any Archbishop.

That he said to the Czarina *Mary* upon Occasion of his Flight, *I am resolv'd to hide myself*; and he own'd he was culpable for not having declar'd it in his Confession.

That

That as to the Letters to the Archbishops, he had said, they were to be put into the Post-Office at *Petersburgh*, from whence they might come to them as they could: That what he had said of Visions, Gazettes, and his Father, he had taken from the Mouth of the Czarewitz of *Siberia*; that *Dubrofski* and *Affonassief* were the Persons that advised him to retire into the Free Towns.

That he had told the Viceroy of *Naples*, the Motives of his Escape, and his refusing to return.

The Czarewitz then farther answered, upon Examination, concerning the Letters he had not owned,

That he had received three Letters from Count *Schonborn*; but that in which it was pretended there was a Letter inclosed from *Moscow*, with the inclosed Paper itself, never came to his Hands; but he had received in the Letter dated in *February*, an inclosed Account of what *Bleyer* wrote from *Petersburgh*, and that there was no Paper inclosed in the Letter of *April*.

That he had certainly written by Force to the Senate and the Archbishops, and not of his own Inclination; but he did not remember that the Expression *ever* was to be found in his Letter, or that he had said *without my having committed any Thing to deserve it*. That in the original Letter to the Archbishops, there was none of these Words, *The same Persons who treated my Mother in the like Manner*.

That he did not remember why the Words *at present* were twice blotted out.

That he had concealed *Dubrofski* with Design, because he had spoke of it to him in private; and for this Reason, he was unwilling to mention him in his Confessions.

That it was thro' Forgetfulness he had not declar'd any Thing in relation to *Simon Naraskin* and *Kikin*.

That he had spoke of his Escape to the Czarewna in these Terms, *I am resolved to hide myself*; and he own'd himself faulty, for having declared it in his Confessions, because he had Pity of her.

*He declared upon the Deposition of ASSONASSIEF and  
EBARLAKOF,*

**T**HAT he had spoken of the common People in a Passion, and when he was drunk.

That he had not said what was laid to his Charge concerning the Archbishops.

That he was in a Passion when he spoke of Count *Golowin*, his Son, and Prince *Trubetskoi*.

That all the World knew he was married with his own good Liking, and not by Force. That his \* Letter to his Father, to desire his Leave, was a clear Proof of it; and that he had written at least thirteen upon this Subject.

That what he had said concerning *Petersburgh*, he had heard from the Mouth of the Czarowitz of *Siberia*.

That it was thro' pure Forgetfulness he had not mentioned *Ebarlakoff* in his Confession; but that indeed he had held the Discourse with him, which was alledged.

That he had sometimes taken Physick by Dissimulation, that they might think him indisposed; and in this he owned himself faulty.

Lastly, The Czarowitz besought his Czarian Majesty to allow him Time to consider and write, promising to set down whatever should recur to his Memory.

His Majesty granted him this Permission, and declared to him at the same Time, that seeing several Things had escaped him in his Confession, which he had acknowledged at present, he would again repeat to him what had been denounced before: That he was to discover all that bore any Relation to this Affair, tho' he was not questioned about it.

Upon which the Czarowitz presented in the Month of *May* Confessions signed with his own Hand upon this Examination.

\* *These Letters are still preserved in the Original.*



*In his first CONFESSION, of the 14<sup>th</sup> of May, he wrote as follows :*

**I** Did not seal any Letter before the Arrival of *M. Tolstoi*; but the Secretary of the Viceroy having sent me a Plan, and the Relation of the Siege of *Belgrade*, had desired to send them back to him sealed, that the Captain who was with me might not know what they sent me, because I then passed for a Prisoner; and therefore I sent the Plan back sealed up.

I also wrote a Note to the said Secretary, and do not remember upon what Occasion; but I think it was upon something that I wanted.

The Captain who was with me, shewed me from Time to Time the printed Plans of several Attacks.

I knew nothing of the Archbishop of *Resan's* Sermon, because I had been a long Time absent from *Moscow*. It was in *Pomerania*, as I remember, that I first heard Prince *Basile Dolgoruki*, or *Frederick Glebof* speak of it. One of them said to me, *The Archbishop of Resan, in a Sermon at Moscow, has spoke of you in very bad Terms, as if you were turned out; and the Senators have obliged him to give them a Copy of the Sermon.*

The Archbishop of *Resan* was used to write to me sometimes before, and I to him, tho' seldom, except when I had urgent Business; but as soon as I was informed of the Sermon, I broke off the Correspondence, and went no more to see the Archbishop, neither did I suffer him to come to me, that I might not give Room for Suspicions.

I told *Afrosini*, that I had written Letters pursuant to the Directions of the aforesaid Secretary; but not to Persons with whom I had any great Correspondence. *I believe*, said he, *the Senators will shew my Letter; but I do not believe there will be any Informations against them, because of their Numbers; and tho' this should happen, they can say nothing of me, for I never made any Overture to them of my Escape; and for the Archbishops, tho' they should burn them alive, they cannot say I communicated any Thing to them.*

Tho'

'Tho' I ought to have wrote to the Archbishop of *Resan*, as well as the two aforesaid Archbishops, because the Secretary had bid me write to the chief of the Clergy and Laity, and yet I did not do it, that no one might think I had concertéd my Escape with him; for I knew him more particularly than the rest, and the Suspicions would have been stronger against him and me, because of the Sermon he had preached.

What I wrote concerning my Return into my Country, had regard to the Time after my Father's Death, and not \* during his Life.

*In his second CONFESSION, of the 16<sup>th</sup> of May, he wrote as follows:*

GENERAL Baur was in *Poland* at the Time of my Flight, with his Body of Troops, and was my particular Friend: I thought my Father's Death was near, upon my being told that he was ill of an Epilepsy, as it is said that if People in Years fall into this Distemper, they cannot live long; I concluded that he would at least die in two years Time; I thought that after his Death I could easily come out of the Emperor's Territories into *Poland*, and from *Poland* with Baur into *Ukrania*, where I did not doubt but all the World would declare for me; and I believe that the Czarewna Mary at *Moscow*, and several of the Archbishops, and even the greatest Part would do the same; and for the common People, I have heard a great many say, that I was beloved by them †.

Farther, I absolutely resolved not to return so long as my Father lived, except in the Case I have done it, to wit, upon my being recall'd.

I trusted no one with my Design in escaping, neither verbally nor in Writing; nor is there any Person that was at all acquainted with it. I have sometimes said to *Afrosini*, that such or such a one were my Friends; but when she asked me who they were, I told her *she did not know them.*

\* The Contrary will appear by and by. † This was not written sincerely, as afterwards appeared, and will be proved hereafter.

As

As to the Letter of which she has made a Deposition, and which I denied, saying it was a Plan of the Siege of *Belgrade*, I now acknowledge it was not a Plan, but a Letter which I had written to the Archbishop of *Kiovia*, a little before M. *Tolstoi* came to *Naples*. I will give the Contents of this Letter by and by.

Tho' I made my first Confession in Writing, I had really forgotten both this, and what regards the *Czarewna Mary*, upon my having discoursed with her upon the Design of my Escape; and tho' I afterwards recollected it, I was afraid to tell it. The Compassion I bore to the Princess, was the Motive of my concealing her other Discourse.

I do not deny what *John Affonassief* has deposed concerning the Speeches which fell from me in a Fit of Drunkenness, tho' I do not remember it Word for Word; but I was drunk, and when I was in that Condition, I commonly said what came in my Mind, and having Confidence in the People that were about me, gave no heed to my Discourse.

*The Substance of the Letter to the Archbishop of Kiovia.*

YOUR Holiness was ignorant of my Departure from *Russia*, because it is long since I wrote to you. I now acquaint you, that I left my Country upon a Resolution that was taken of forcing me into a Monastery. It was this Reason that obliged me to retire. When God shall recal me from a Refuge I have found among my Benefactors, to return to you into *Russia*, I beg you would receive me; and for the present, let those who are desirous to hear of me, know that I am in good Health, and acquaint them with the Reason I had to leave the Country.

I sent this Letter to *Vienna* by the Secretary of the Viceroy of *Naples*, but I do not know whether it was delivered; I am also uncertain what became of the foregoing Letters, which I committed to the Care of Count *Schonborn's* Secretary; however, I had no Answer from *Vienna* whether they were received or no.

I heard

I heard *Dubrofski* talk of the Epilepsy, and made Reflections upon it.

*The Czarewicz was examined the same Day, upon the following Articles, drawn up by his Czarian Majesty.*

*His Answers were signed with his own Hand.*

*Article the First.*

Who of the Laity were acquainted with your Designs and Dispositions to be disobedient? What Discourse passed betwixt you and them upon this Subject?

ANSWER.

I know of no one whatsoever that had any Knowledge of my ill Design, or spoke of it to me, except those I have already confessed.

*Article the Second.*

Was what *Affonassief* has deposed concerning the Rebellion before the Settlement of the Succession?

ANSWER.

When I talked to *Affonassief* about the Rebellion, it was in a drunken Fit, and I thought the People were in Arms.

*Article the Third.*

What was the Meaning of the Words *at present*, which were twice expressed in the Minutes of the Letter to the Archbishops?

ANSWER.

The Words *at present* twice written were a Slip of my Pen, for I designed to write it but once. The Meaning was, that they should spread those Letters among the People, as I thought it might the more engage them to declare for me, having seen Examples of it in the printed *Gazettes*. I then thought it was wrong, and therefore blotted it out.

When

*Article the Fourth.*

When you saw in *Bleyer's* Letter that there was a Revolt in the Army of *Mecklenbourg*, you expressed your Satisfaction, *God does not suffer Matters to proceed according to my Father's Wishes*; I suppose you had some Views in rejoicing in this Manner, and would have declared for the Rebels, tho' I was alive.

## ANSWER.

When I was informed of the Revolt of the Army in *Mecklenbourg*, I expressed my Joy by saying, that God did not permit Matters to proceed according to my Father's Wishes.

If this News had been true, and they had called for me, I should have joined the Malecontents; but I had no form'd Design to join them without being called; on the other Hand, I should have been afraid to come without it; but if they had sent for me, I should have gone.

I thought they would not send for me, whilst you was living, because their Design was not to remove you, and I never thought that they would dethrone you whilst you were alive; but if they had called me even before your Death, I should certainly have gone, if they had been strong enough.

The *Czarewitz* confessed in this last Answer, that he had criminal Designs, which he meant to execute, even during his Father's Life-time, if Occasion offered. His Czarian Majesty ordered *Messieurs Tolstoi* and *Buturlin*, to examine him again upon the aforesaid Letters to the Archbishops, to know in what Sense, and with what View he had written the Words, *Don't forsake me at present*.

*The Czarewitz affirm'd, That 'twas in the same Sense he had expressed in his late Answer; and he wrote with his own Hand the following Account:*

May 26<sup>th</sup>, 1718.

**M**ESSIEURS *Tolstoi* and *Buturlin* have demanded of me, by your Order, with what View I made use



use of the Words *at present*, which are found in my Confession, when I wrote to the Senate and the Archbishops not to forsake me.

As I have own'd in my last Confession, that if the Rebels had at any Time invited me, even tho' it were in your Life-time, I would have gone to them; I wrote the Words *at present* with a Design, that when the Matter should be publish'd among the People, they might declare in my Favour, either by Solicitations or Menaces.

REFLECTIONS *upon the preceding* PIECES.

THE better to comprehend the Care his Czarian Majesty has taken to bring back the Czarewitz into the right Way, and to make him return to it when he was fallen, that he might engage him to become worthy of the Succession; and to let the Publick see how the Czarewitz, on the other Hand, has broke through all his Father's Measures, by the Oppositions he had made to them; we shall set the Matter in a still greater Light, tho' it may be amply deduced from the preceding Pieces.

'Tis notorious, by the first Manifesto which was publish'd upon the Arrival of the Czarewitz at *Moscow*, and by the Letters his Majesty wrote to him, which are inserted above, with what reiterated Solicitations his Majesty, his Father, exhorted him to make himself capable and deserving of the Succession; and yet, notwithstanding, he always shewed himself refractory.

The Czarewitz, in his Reply to the Letter which his Czarian Majesty had written to him, did not tell him the Reasons why he would not take Pains, as his Father desired, to make himself capable of the Succession: He only deceived him with false Oaths, by which he engaged himself to a Renunciation of the Crown, and which he afterwards not only broke, but aspired to the Succession by ill Practices.

His Czarian Majesty, who saw into the naughty Inclinations of his Son, again exhorted him, by other Letters, to form himself for the Government; and represented

presented to him, to intimidate and engage him to a Compliance with his Will, that if this was absolutely impossible for him, he should then embrace a Monastick State. He plainly saw that the Czarewitz's Renunciation of the Succession was no more than an Amusement, and altogether void of Sincerity, as afterwards appeared plainly by the Consequence: For he was so far from giving a clear and positive Answer to his Czarian Majesty's Letter, who exhorted him to a Determination, that he had still recourse to Subterfuges, and answered only in a vague and undeterminate Manner, by Oaths and Intreaties, that he might be allowed immediately to retire into a Convent; which, notwithstanding, were altogether fraudulent.

For which Reason his Majesty advised him, upon his Departure from *Petersburgh* into foreign Countries, when he bid him farewell, not to enter so soon into a Convent, because the Engagement was difficult for a young Man to observe, and gave him still six Months Time to consider of it; at the End of which he was to write to his Majesty what Part he would take.

He used him thus in hopes that he might change his Opinion, and, by a better Conduct, conform to the Will of his Father, and make himself deserving of the Succession, by a serious Application to his Duty.

The Czarewitz, not caring to answer any Thing at that Time upon this Subject to his Father, pretended to be sick; but his Majesty was scarce gone from him, before he went to an Entertainment with *Michael Voinou*.

The six Months pass'd, and the Czarewitz took no Notice of the Choice he was to make.

His Majesty, who saw his Deceit, wrote to him again from *Copenhagen*, to repeat his Exhortations concerning the Succession; and ordered him to come to him, that he might learn the Business of War; but that if he desired to retire into a Convent, he requir'd that he would make Choice of his Monastery, fix the Time of his Retirement, and write Word back to his Majesty, who would neither prescribe the Time, nor assign the Place.

It evidently appears by his Majesty's three Letters, which are inserted above, that he earnestly wished he would make himself capable of the Succession: That he had no Inclination to force him to become a Monk, but, on the contrary, was desirous to dissuade him from it, and left his Choice to his own free Determination.

The Czarewitz seemingly made Choice of a Convent of his own proper Motion: However, all his Promises, which were confirmed by so many Oaths, were found deceitful. For it has actually appeared, as has been proved above, that the Czarewitz aimed at the Succession, which his Majesty had not only deprived him of, but also forced him, by his powerful Exhortations, to pretend to it, by labouring to make himself worthy of it.

But in Contempt of all this, the Czarewitz made his Escape, and took Refuge with the Emperor, demanding his Assistance and Protection, to aid and assist him even with an arm'd Hand; and he has said that the Emperor had assur'd him by the Count *de Schonborn*, Vice-Chancellor, that he would procure him the *Russian* Crown, not only by good Offices, but also by Force of Arms; insomuch, that the Czarewitz not only hoped for his Father's Death with Expressions of Joy, but also sought it; and when he was told there was a Rebellion rais'd in the Country, he declared his Satisfaction at the News, and was resolv'd to join the Rebels if they had called him, whether his Father were living or dead.

One might convict him from his own Confession, That when he wrote in his Answer, which he gave to his Father, that his Infirmary was so great he did not desire the Succession, he told him a manifest Falshood.

He took Physick only to appear sick, if Mention was made of any Journey he did not care to take, as his Father desired; when in Reality he was perfectly well.

Insomuch that we may judge by all these Circumstances, that he aim'd at the Succession, not in the Manner his Father was desirous to leave it him, namely, in the proper Order, but after his own Manner, by foreign

reign Assistances, or the Forces of Rebels, even whilst his Father was alive.

Though the Czarewitz has said in his last Confession, that his not having own'd his Letter from *Naples*, to the Metropolitan of *Kiovia*, was to be imputed to his Forgetfulness, this also has been found to be absolutely false: For since he has remembred the Particulars in Matters of far less Consequence, which were the Subject of his Discourse with several People some Years ago, as appears by his Examination, how could he have forgot this Circumstance of having wrote to the Archbishops, which is a Point of far greater Importance?

There appears in this Excuse of Forgetfulness not only a direct Falshood, but also a very malicious Disposition; for when *Afrosini* had maintain'd to his Face that he had writ to the Archbishop from the Fortrefs, and had sealed the Letter in her Presence, he had a Mind to conceal the Business, by the Pretence of a Plan of the Attack of *Belgrade*, which he sent back sealed to the Secretary of the Viceroy of *Naples*: However, he afterwards owned that it was not the Plan, but the Letter to the Archbishop of *Kiovia* which he had sealed. The Excuse he also made of having forgot to own in his first Confession, what concerns the Czarewna, *Mary Alexiewna*, *Dubrofski*, and *Ebarlakof*, who were acquainted with his Escape, was also a Falshood, as appears from his having afterwards declared he had Compassion upon the Czarewna.

It also appears by the above-mentioned Report of the Resident *Weselowski* at *Vienna*, that the Imperialists did not force the Czarewitz to write Letters to the Senate and the Archbishops.

His Czarian Majesty, in his Letters to the Czarewitz at *Naples*, promised him only his gracious Pardon for his Escape, if he would return to him: He not only pardoned him upon his Return, but also extended his Favour so far, as to promise him a general Forgiveness for all he had committed, if he would make a sincere Confession of all he had done, and discover his Accomplices without any Reserve; declaring to him at the same Time, that if he kept back any Thing, or concealed



cealed any Person who was an Accomplice in this Affair, his Pardon should be null and void.

Yet we have clearly seen by all the preceding Pieces, in what Manner the Czarewitz, contemning the paternal Clemency and Pardon he had obtain'd, conceal'd a great Number of Persons, Letters, and Facts, as also his pernicious Designs of joining the Rebels, and entering into their Devices.

'Tis therefore evident, that he has not only had no real Intention of discovering all his Crimes, and making Amends by a sincere Repentance, but that he has also disguised and concealed what had pass'd, that he might be able to resume again his Designs for the future, and renew what hitherto he has not been able to effect.

As they were reading the Matters above related, his Czarian Majesty again verbally examined the Czarewitz touching all his Crimes that were proved in all these Pieces, and how every Thing had pass'd; and, after a great many Questions and Demands upon the Points of the most Importance, of which his Majesty shew'd him the Proofs for his Conviction, with the Letters written by his own Hand, the Czarewitz confessed before the whole Assembly of the States, Ecclesiastical and Civil, to his Father and Lord, that he was guilty of all that was found in the Writings related above.

The Audience being ended, and the Czarewitz carried back, his Majesty caused an Ordinance to be issued out to the Archbishops and Secular States, which he had signed with his own Hand, and was as follows:

*A DECLARATION to the most sacred Metropolitans, Archbishops, Bishops, and others of the Clergy.*

**Y**OU have lately heard an ample Deduction of the astonishing Crimes my Son is guilty of, and has committed against us his Father and Lord.

Tho', according to all Laws Divine and Civil, and especially those of *Russia*, which exclude all Jurisdiction between a Father and a Son, even amongst private Persons, we have a sufficient and absolute Power to judge



our Son for his Crimes, according to our Pleasure, without demanding Advice of any one; yet as Men are usually less discerning in their own Affairs than in those of others, and as even the most skilful Physicians don't run the Hazard of prescribing to themselves, but call in the Assistance of others when they are indisposed; so we, having the Fear of God before our Eyes, and being afraid to offend, in like Manner lay our Case before you, and demand a Remedy of you; for we should be apprehensive of an eternal Death, if not knowing perhaps the Nature of our Disease, we should take upon us to heal ourselves; and the more, as I have sworn by the Judgment of God, and have promised my Son Pardon by Writing, and since by Word of Mouth, in case he would tell me the Truth.

Tho' our Son has broke through his Promise, and concealed Matters of the utmost Importance, touching his Designs of Rebellion against us his Lord and Father; yet, that we may keep strictly close to our Obligations, and tho' the Affair falls under the Civil and not the Spiritual Jurisdiction, and we have this Day laid it before the Secular Judges by an express Declaration for an impartial Hearing, yet we are desirous to receive all possible Instruction concerning this Affair.

Remembering that Passage in the Word of God, where he exhorts all Persons to require the Opinion of the Priests upon the like Occasions, to learn what is the Will of Heaven, as it is written in the seventeenth Chapter of *Exodus*; We desire of you the Archbishops, and the whole State of the Clergy, as Teachers of the Word of God, that you would not pronounce Judgment upon this Affair till after you have examined it, and that you would give us hereupon a just Information from the Holy Scripture, and what Punishment my Son's horrid Crime, which resembles the Sin of *Abfalom*, has deserved by the Divine Laws, in Conformity to the like Examples and Precepts of Holy Scripture; and that you would give it us by Writing, signed under the Hand of each of you; that being sufficiently instructed in this Affair, we may lay no Burthen upon our Conscience.

Thus

Thus we put our Confidence in you, as Guardians of the Divine Laws, according to your Dignity, as faithful Pastors of the Flock of *Christ*, and Lovers of your Country; and we conjure you, by the Judgment of God and your own sacred Charecter, to proceed herein without any Fear or Diffimulation.

*A DECLARATION to our faithful and beloved Ministers, Senators, and States Military and Civil.*

**Y**OU have lately heard a very ample Deduction of the astonishing Crimes my Son is guilty of, which he has committed against us, his Lord and Father.

Tho', by all Laws Divine and Civil, and especially those of *Russia*, which exclude all Jurisdiction between a Father and Son, even among private Persons, we have a sufficient and absolute Power to judge our Son for his Crimes according to our Pleasure, without demanding the Advice of any one; yet, as Men are usually less discerning in their own Affairs than in those of others, and as even the most skilful Physicians do not run the Hazard of prescribing to themselves, but call in the Assistance of others when they are indisposed; so we, having the Fear of God before our Eyes, and being afraid to burthen our Conscience with any Sin, do for this Reason lay our Case before you, and demand a Remedy of you; for we should be apprehensive of an eternal Death, if, not knowing perhaps the Nature of our Disease, we should take upon us to heal ourselves; and the more, as I have sworn by the Judgment of God, and have promised my Son Pardon by Writing, and since confirmed it by Word of Mouth, in case he should tell me the Truth.

Tho' our Son has broke through his Promise, and concealed Matters of the utmost Importance, touching his Designs of Rebellion against us, his Lord and Father; yet, that we may keep strictly close to our Obligations, I beg of you to consider of the Affair, to examine it seriously and with Attention, and see what it is that he has deserved, without flattering me, or apprehending, that if he deserves no more than slight Punishment in your

Judgment, it will be disagreeable to me; for I swear to you by the Great God, and by his Judgments, that you have nothing absolutely to fear upon this Head.

Neither let the Consideration of your being to pass a Judgment upon the Son of your Prince have any Effect with you; but do Justice without Respect of Persons, and destroy not your Souls and mine, that our Conscience may not reproach us at the terrible Day of Judgment, nor our Country be injured.

On the Sixteenth of June, *Peter Tolstoi*, Privy-Counsellor, declared, by Order of his Czarian Majesty, to the Ministers, the Senate, and the States Military and Civil, That as he had put into their Hands the Trial of his Son *Alexis Petrovitz*, that they might pronounce Judgment upon it, he willed and required that it should be done in the ordinary Form, and with all due Examination; for which Reason his Majesty authorized and gave them the Power to examine the *Czarewitz Alexis Petrovitz*, if they found it convenient, upon any Point whatsoever, to make him appear before them, and put such Questions to him as should be necessary.

Upon this express Order of his Czarian Majesty, the Ministers, the Senate, and the States who were present and assembled, having heard the preceding Pieces read, convened to interrogate the *Czarewitz* upon the following Points.

Interrogatories laid before the *Czarewitz* ALEXIS  
PETROWITZ.

HE declared concerning *Bleyer's* Letter, that the Copy of it was inclosed in a Letter of *Schonborn's*, but that there was no Letter inclosed in *Schonborn's* of the Twenty-fourth of April.

This cannot possibly be, because Count *Schonborn* declares under his own Hand, that he sends him a Copy of what was written from *Moscow*; so that it is impossible the Count should have forgot to inclose it in his Letter. It appears also, that he sent it on purpose to make the *Czarewitz* acquainted with the News.

This is also agreeable to *Afrosini's* Declaration, that the Czarewitz had spoke to her of the Rebellion in the Neighbourhood of *Moscow*, which, he said, he was informed of by Letters. From whence it appears, that he must have had Letters of this Nature, whoever it was that sent them.

It was probable also, that when *Bleyer* sent this News, he made mention of some Persons at the same Time; and that the Czarewitz in all likelihood burnt the Letters, because he had a Mind to conceal them.

He must therefore truly confess it at present, because there can be no Credit given to what he has hitherto said, and given out in his Confessions from Time to Time: He should remember his Promises, confirmed by so many Oaths, which he made to his Czarian Majesty, his Father, upon his Arrival at *Moscow*; and which he has since repeated by kissing the Cross, and even receiving the Holy Communion; and again when he received his Majesty's Pardon by Writing. He must not rely upon his being the Son of our Sovereign, as a Reason for exempting him from confessing all without Reserve, and telling us the naked Truth: For his Majesty having constituted us to be Judges over him, has also conferred upon us full Power to act under that Capacity; if therefore he will not confess, we shall be obliged to treat him as a common Criminal, and as is usual in like Cases of Rebellion, Sedition, Revolt, and Designs of Parricide against his Father and Prince.

Let him therefore declare the Accomplices of his Conspiracy, whom he has concealed. Let him say upon whom he relied for Assistance, and with whom he advised and plotted; for it was impossible without this, that he should have flattered himself with the Hopes he had, which he communicated to his Mistress, and has already confessed himself.

Upon what Occasion did he talk to *John Assonassief* of his Reliance upon the common People, and at what Time did he mean to execute what he expressed in the Words following, *If I see my Time, when my Father is not present, I will whisper something in the Ear of the Archbishops.* Upon what Archbishops did he chiefly depend



pend in this Case? *Afrosini* declaring that he commended one Archbishop without naming him, it is not possible that he should forget him; but it appears that this Archbishop being one of his Friends, he has not mentioned his Name, with a View to conceal him. And farther, what Time did he expect to find, when his Father should be absent? Wherefore, and upon what Foundation, did he say that *Petersburgh* should not long continue in Being?

Upon which the *Czarewitz* was summoned to appear before the Tribunal of the Judges appointed by his Czarian Majesty, in the Hall of the Regency of the Senate, and Declaration having been made of the Orders they had received from his Czarian Majesty; he was told, that tho' they were very much afflicted at his late Conduct, they were notwithstanding obliged to obey their Orders; and, without having Regard to his Person, and his being the Son of their most merciful Sovereign, to question him upon the Articles related above, which they read to him, requiring of him an Answer thereto, by a true Confession, attended with sufficient Proofs.

*On the seventeenth of June the Czarewitz answered to these ARTICLES in the Manner following.*

**B**LEYER, the Emperor's Resident, wrote to the Count *de Schonborn*, Vice-Chancellor of the Emperor, that *Abraham Lopukin* had desired him at *Petersburgh* to come to him; that he asked him, where the *Czarewitz* was at present, and whether he heard any News of him; telling him, at the same Time, *That the Inclinations of the People were for the Czarewitz, and they already began to stir in the Neighbourhood of Moscow: For, says he, there are very different Accounts concerning him, and I should be glad to know positively whether he is at present with you.*

This Letter of *Bleyer's* was inclosed in Count *Schonborn's*, written to the *Czarewitz* in the Month of *April*, and the *Czarewitz* burnt the inclosed, after having read it.

What



What he told *Afrosini* concerning a Rebellion near *Moscow*, was taken from the said Letter, without telling her what *Bleyer* had written to Count *Schonborn* concerning *Lopukin*.

As to the Imputation laid to the Charge of the Czarewitz by *John Affonassief*, upon his Discourse concerning the common People: It is true, that he, the Czarewitz, had relied upon the common People; he had heard a great many Persons say, that he was beloved by them, and particularly *Nicephorus Vafenski*, and his Confessor, the Archpriest *James*, who had often spoke to him of the Friendship the People bore him; and that in drinking his Health, they call'd him the *Hope of the Russians*.

After this the Czarewitz took aside the most serene Prince *Menzikoff*, Baron *Peter Schafirof*, *Peter Toljoi*, and *John Buturlin*, and said to them,

That indeed he had placed his Confidence in those who loved the antient Customs, and that he had become acquainted with them by the Discourse, they had held; wherein they had constantly praised the antient Manners, and spoke with Dislike of the Novelties his Father had introduced; that he had been confirmed in this Confidence by the Discourse of Prince *Basile Dolgoruki*, when he said to him, *Give your Father as many Letters of Renunciation as he will*, as is related in the first Confession of the Czarewitz. That the said Prince *Dolgoruki* had told him, *That he had more Spirit than his Father, and tho' his Father had a great deal, he was not able to distinguish who were Men of Spirit; but you, says he to the Czarewitz, will know them better.*

*Signed by the Czarewitz's own Hand,*

ALEXIS.

*The Czarewitz Alexis Petrowitz farther wrote with his own Hand, by Way of Supplement to what is above.*

I Have declared in my foregoing Confessions the rest of the Discourse; I declare at present, that I founded my Hopes upon the Discourse of several Persons, and particularly

particularly my Confessor *James, Nicephorus Vafenski* the Czarewitz of *Siberia, Dubrofski*, and *John Affonassies* who assured me that I was beloved by the People. *James*, the Confessor, always told me, that they drank to the Health of *the Hope of the Russians*. I constantly relied upon the People at all Times, and especially upon the Archbishop of *Resan*, ever since his Sermon, as seeing thereby that he had an Inclination for me, tho' I never talked of any Thing with him, except what I have confessed above.

When I spoke of *Peterburgh* I was drunk, and my Meaning was, that the Army being as far distant as *Copenhagen*, it might as easily be taken as *Azoph* was: I do not remember the Words I said.

*The Czarewitz also said to the Ministers during this Examination,*

That he had for a long Time constantly treasured up all the Discourses which had passed between him, and such Persons as were displeased with the Novelties his Father had introduced, and blamed them, because they were inclined to the antient Customs, and to live after the old Manner; and that tho' he had no Correspondence with them upon the Subject of his Designs, nor had discerned any Inclinations in them to favour them, yet he had shewed himself inclined to them, by reason of their Discourses upon this Subject; and to draw them over more firmly to his Interest, he had made also as if he had loved the antient Practices, and for these Reasons had relied upon them.

After all these Pieces were read in Presence of the Ministers, the Senators, and the States assembled, they ordered, that suitable Authorities should be sought out of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, the Constitutions of the Empire, and the Military Laws, which might be applied to the present Case, to judge what Punishments these Transgressions had deserved.

EXTRACTS *from the* Old Testament.

*Levit.* Chap. xx.

“ AND the LORD spake unto *Moses*, saying, Thus  
 “ shalt thou say unto the Children of *Israel*;  
 “ Every one that curseth his Father, or his Mother,  
 “ shall surely be put to Death, his Blood shall be upon  
 “ him.”

*Deut.* Chap. xxi.

“ If a Man have a stubborn and a rebellious Son,  
 “ which will not obey the Voice of his Father, or the  
 “ Voice of his Mother, and that, when they have  
 “ chastened him, will not hearken unto them, then  
 “ shall his Father and his Mother lay hold on him, and  
 “ bring him out unto the Elders of his City, and unto  
 “ the Gate of his Place, and they shall say unto the  
 “ Elders of his City, This our Son is stubborn and  
 “ rebellious, he will not obey our Voice, he is a Glut-  
 “ ton, and a Drunkard; and all the Men of his City  
 “ shall stone him with Stones that he die, so shalt  
 “ thou put away Evil from among you, and all *Israel*  
 “ shall hear and fear.”

EXTRACTS *from the* New Testament.

*Math.* Chap. xv. Ver. 1.

“ THEN came to *Jesus Scribes* and *Pharisees*  
 “ which were of *Jerusalem*, saying, Why do  
 “ thy Disciples transgress the Tradition of the Elders,  
 “ for they wash not their Hands when they eat Bread?  
 “ But he answered and said unto them, Why do you al-  
 “ so transgress the Commandments of GOD by your  
 “ Tradition? For GOD commanded, saying, Honour  
 “ thy Father and Mother, and he that curseth Fa-  
 “ ther or Mother, let him die the Death.”

*Math.* Chap. vii. Ver. 9.

“ And he said unto them, Full well ye reject the  
 “ Commandment of GOD, that ye may keep your own

“ Tradition; for *Moses* said, Honour thy Father and  
 “ Mother, and whoſo curſeth Father, or Mother, let  
 “ him die the Death: But ye ſay, if a Man ſhall ſay to  
 “ his Father, or Mother, it is *Corban*, that is to ſay,  
 “ a Gift, by whatſoever thou mighteſt be profited by  
 “ me, he ſhall be free; and ye ſuffer him no more to  
 “ do ought for his Father and Mother.”

*Rom. Chap. i. Ver. 28.*

“ And even as they did not like to retain God in  
 “ their Knowledge, God gave them over to a repre-  
 “ bate Mind, to do thoſe Things which are not con-  
 “ venient; being filled with all Unrighteouſneſs, For-  
 “ nication, Wickedneſs, Covetouſneſs, Maliciouſneſs,  
 “ full of Envy, Murder, Debate, Deceit, Malignity;  
 “ Whiſperers, Backbiters, Haters of God, Deſpiteful,  
 “ Proud, Boaſters, Inventors of Evil Things, diſobedient  
 “ to Parents, without Underſtanding, Covenant-Break-  
 “ ers, without natural Affection, Implacable, Unmer-  
 “ ciful; who knowing the Judgment of God, that they  
 “ which commit ſuch Things are worthy of Death,  
 “ not only do the ſame, but have Pleaſure in them that  
 “ do them.”

*Ephes. Chap. vi. ver. 1.*

“ Children obey your Parents in the LORD, for this  
 “ is right; Honour thy Father and Mother, which is  
 “ the firſt Commandment with Promiſe, that it may be  
 “ well with thee, and thou may’ſt live long on the  
 “ Earth.”

*In the CONSTITUTIONS of RUSSIA.*

*Chap. I. Stat. 1.*

**I**F any Perſon by any ill Deſign forms any Attempt  
 againſt the Health of the Czar, or does any Thing  
 to his Prejudice, and is found inclined to execute his  
 pernicious Deſigns, let him be put to Death after he is  
 convicted of it.

*Stat. 2.*

In like Manner, If any one during the Reign of his Czarian Majesty, through a Desire to reign in the Empire of *Muscovy*, and to put the Czar to Death, shall begin to raise Troops with this pernicious View; or if any one shall form an Alliance with the Enemies of his Czarian Majesty, or entertain a Correspondence with them, or aid them with their Assistance to arrive at the Government, or raise any other Disorder; if any one declares it, and the Truth be found out upon these Declarations, let the Traytor suffer Death upon Conviction of the Treason.

*In the Military LAWS of his Czarian Majesty, Printed at Peterburgh in 1717.*

*Chap. 3. Article 19.*

**I**F any Subject raises Men. or takes up Arms against his Czarian Majesty; or if any one forms a Design of taking his Majesty Prisoner, or killing him; or if he offers any Violence to him; he, and all his Adherents and Abettors shall be quarter'd, as guilty of Treason, and their Goods confiscated.

*The Explanation of the Article.*

Those also shall be punish'd with the same Punishment, who though they have not been able to execute their Crime, shall be convicted of having had the Inclination and Desire to commit it, as also those who have not discover'd it, when it has come to their Knowledge.

*Chap. 16. Article 27.*

He who forms a Design of committing any Treason, or any other Matter of the like Nature, shall notwithstanding be punished with the same Capital Punishments, as if he had executed his Design.



*The EXTRACTS from the Divine, Civil, and Military Laws.*

IT was resolved with one Consent, before the Sentence was pronounced, the Ministers and Senate should call the Judges appointed for this Tribunal, one after another, and hear every Man's Opinion from his own Mouth.

Which having been done, the Ministers in like Manner declared each their Sentiment; which tho' separately given, amounted notwithstanding unanimously, and without Contradiction, to one and the same Judgment; declaring by Oath, and upon their Conscience, that according to the Laws, Divine, Civil, and Military, related above, the Czarewitz was worthy of Death for the Crimes alledged and proved against him.

Upon the above-mentioned Confession of the Czarewitz concerning *Bleyer's* Letter, *Abraham Lopukin* was examined on the 19<sup>th</sup> of *June*, before the Ministers and the Senators, and at first he denied all with solemn Oaths; but being brought into the Chamber of the Torture, he owned and declared as follows: That he never desired the Resident *Bleyer* to come to him, nor was he ever with the Resident; but that meeting together after *Autumn*, he does not certainly remember at what Time, except that it was before the Arrival of his Czarian Majesty, going from *Trinity Port* to that of *Baron Schaffiroff*; he the said *Lopukin* demanded of the Resident, *Where is the Czarewitz at present? Is there any News of him?* And that *Bleyer* answered, *It is said the Czarewitz is with us in the Dominions of his Imperial Majesty, and the Emperor will not give him up.* That *Lopukin* replied to *Bleyer*, *The People here are much concerned for the Czarewitz, and his leaving the Kingdom may cause an Insurrection in the Empire:* The Resident said hereupon, *and the Emperor will not forsake him in such a Case.*

That he, *Lopukin*, had said these Words to the Resident of his own Head, and out of the Inclination he bore to the Czarewitz; as was also what he had formerly talked with the Land-Rath of the Government of *Casan*,

*Casan*, named *Kanbar Akinfief*, who, when he was at *Petersburgh*, being with *Lopukin*, they discoursed together of the Czarewitz, and of his being in the Emperor's Dominions; and that they had both said, The Czarewitz had done well in retiring thither, for the Emperor would not give him up; and that *Kanbar Akinfief*, had said to the said *Lopukin*: *In our Country it is possible some Disorder may arise upon account of the Czarewitz's Flight, because the People there are very simple and ignorant.*

On the 21st of *June*, his Czarian Majesty ordered the Senators, by the Privy-Counsellor *Peter Tolstoi*, to come into the HALL; where, being assembled, the said Privy Counsellor laid before them the following Considerations, presented to his Czarian Majesty by the Clergy, and which he was pleased to communicate to them by him.

*The Considerations of the CLERGY.*

**R** Effecting on one Side upon the great Crime committed by a Son, who, like *Absalom*, has rose up against his Father; and on the other upon the Person offended, who is a Father and a Sovereign with absolute Power over his Son; We dare not venture to touch upon an Affair of this Nature by such Considerations as belong to us, this Matter relating wholly to the Civil Jurisdiction, and not to the Ecclesiastical. Besides that the absolute Power established in the Czarian Empire, which is a Monarchy, is not to be submitted to the Judgment of Subjects; the Sovereign having full Authority to act according to his own good Pleasure, without the Intervention of any Inferiors.

However, as we are commanded, not by way of Judgment, but for Instruction only to search out such Examples and Statutes as are applicable to the present Case; in conformity to the Orders of our Monarch, we of the Clergy, whose Names are under-written, being present in the Imperial Capital City of *Petersburgh*, have collected from the Holy Scriptures, what to us has appeared to be suitable to this dreadful and astonishing Subject.

I. " The Son of *Noah*, who mocked his Father, was  
 " cursed of him, and condemned to be the Servant of  
 " his Brethren, *Gen. ix.*

II. " God has said in his Commandments, Honour  
 " thy Father and thy Mother, that thy Days may be  
 " long upon the Land, *Exod. xx.*

" Thou shalt not curse the Ruler of the People,  
 " *Exod. xxii.*

III. " He that curseth his Father or his Mother shall  
 " surely be put to Death, *Exod. xxi. Levit. xx.*

" And Jesus Christ has said the same thing, *Matt. xv.*  
 " *Mark vii.*

IV. If a Man have a stubborn and rebellious Son,  
 " which will not obey the Voice of his Father, or the  
 " Voice of his Mother, and that, when they have  
 " chastened him, will not hearken unto them, then  
 " shall his Father and his Mother lay hold on him, and  
 " bring him out unto the Elders of his City, and unto  
 " the Gate of his Place, and they shall say unto the  
 " Elders of his City, This our Son is stubborn and re-  
 " bellious, he will not obey our Voice, he is a Glut-  
 " ton and a Drunkard. And all the Men of his City  
 " shall stone him with Stones that he die: So shalt thou  
 " put away Evil from among you, and all *Israel* shall  
 " hear and fear, *Deut. xxi.*

V. The Eye that mocketh at his Father, and that  
 " despiseth to obey his Mother, the Ravens of the Val-  
 " ley shall pluck it out, *Prov. xxx.*

VI. Honour your Father by Actions and Words,  
 " that he may bless you: The Blessing of the Father  
 " strengthens the House of the Children, and the Curse  
 " of the Mother destroys it to the Foundation, *Eccles. iii.*

" And again, My Son, comfort thy Father in his  
 " Old Age, and grieve not thy Mother so long as she  
 " lives.

VII. The People of *Israel* being in Prison at *Ba-  
 bylon*, collected a Sum of Money, and sent it to *Jeru-  
 salem*, to *Joachim* the High-Priest, and to all the  
 " People, and they said unto them, we have sent you a Sum  
 " of Money, buy therewith Burnt Offerings and Incense,  
 " and offer Sacrifices and Offerings for Sin, upon the

" Altar

- “ Altar of the Lord our God, and pray for the Life  
 “ of *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, and for the Life  
 “ of *Belshazzar* his Son, that their Days may be up-  
 “ on Earth as the Days of Heaven, *Baruch* i.  
 “ VIII. When the King’s Eunuchs, who kept the  
 “ Door of the Palace, were minded to lay Hands upon  
 “ the King’s Person, and to kill him, and the Thing was  
 “ known to *Mordecai*, he certify’d the King of their  
 “ Conspiracy, and when Inquisition was made of the  
 “ Matter, and it was found out, they were both hanged  
 “ on a Tree, *Est.* ii.  
 “ IX. The History of *Abfalom* is told in the second  
 “ Book of *Kings*, Chap. xv. 16, 17, 18.

*These Passages were collected from the OLD TESTA-  
 MENT.*

*From the NEW TESTAMENT.*

- “ I. JESUS CHRIST himself was subject to *Joseph*  
 “ and his Mother, *Luke* ii.  
 “ He also ordered to pay Tribute unto *Cæsar*.  
 “ II. If thou wilt enter into Life, keep the Com-  
 “ mandments. He saith unto him, Which? JESUS said,  
 “ Thou shalt do no Murder; Thou shalt not commit  
 “ Adultery; Thou shalt not steal; Thou shalt not bear  
 “ false Witness; Honour thy Father and Mother; and  
 “ Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self, *Matt.* xix.  
 “ III. Whosoever shall say to his Brother, *Racha*,  
 “ shall be in danger of the Counsel, *Matt.* v.  
 “ IV. Honour all Men. Love the Brotherhood.  
 “ Fear GOD. Honour the King. Servants be subject  
 “ unto your Masters with all Fear; not only to the  
 “ Good and Gentle, but also to the Froward, *1 Pet.* ii.  
 “ V. Let every Soul be subject unto the Higher  
 “ Powers: For there is no Power but of GOD. Whoso-  
 “ ever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Or-  
 “ dinance of GOD: And they that resist shall receive  
 “ to themselves Damnation. For Rulers are not a Ter-  
 “ ror to good Works, but to the Evil. Wilt thou then  
 “ not be afraid of the Power? Do that which is good,  
 “ and

“ and thou shalt have Praise of the same: For he is  
 “ the Minister of GOD to thee for Good. But if thou  
 “ do that which is Evil, be afraid, for he beareth not  
 “ the Sword in vain: For he is the Minister of GOD,  
 “ a Revenger to execute Wrath upon him that doth  
 “ Evil, *Rom. xiii.*

“ VI. Children obey your Parents in the Lord, for  
 “ this is right. Honour thy Father and Mother, which  
 “ is the first Commandment with Promise; that it may  
 “ be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the  
 “ Earth. And ye Fathers provoke not your Children  
 “ to Wrath, but bring them up in the Nurture and  
 “ Admonition of the Lord. Servants be obedient to  
 “ them that are your Masters according to the Flesh,  
 “ with Fear and Trembling, in Singleness of your  
 “ Hearts, as unto God: Not with Eye-Service, as  
 “ Men-pleasers, but as the Servants of Christ, with  
 “ Good-will, doing Service as to the Lord, and not to  
 “ Men, *Eph. vi.*

“ The same Precepts are found in the Epistle to the  
 “ *Colossians*, ch. iii.

“ VII. Put them in Mind to be subject to Principa-  
 “ lities and Powers, to obey Magistrates, to be ready  
 “ to every good Work, *Tit. iii.*

*In the Provincial Council held at Gangra.*

*Can IV.*

“ If any Children run away from their orthodox Fa-  
 “ thers and Mothers, and pay not the Respect due to  
 “ their Fathers and Mothers, and fancy to better their  
 “ Condition, let them be accursed.

*St. Chrysostom, speaking of the Prophetess Hannah, the  
 Mother of Samuel, in his first Sermon:*

“ He is not only a Father who has begotten, but who  
 “ has well brought up his Son; nor is she so truly a  
 “ Mother who has brought a Child into the World,  
 “ as who has given him a good Education. Parents  
 “ themselves will own that it is not Nature, but Vir-  
 “ tue



" true which makes Fathers : They oft reject their  
 " Children, and exclude from their Family those whom  
 " they see to be of corrupt Manners and degenerate  
 " Life, and adopt others who are not in the least re-  
 " lated to them.

" Can there be any Thing which more deserves our  
 " Admiration, than to see them expel those whom they  
 " have brought into the World, and to make their own  
 " by Adoption those whom they have had no Share in  
 " begetting.

" We have not said this without Reason, but to shew  
 " you that the Force of Free-Will is superior to the  
 " Force of Nature, and that it is the former rather than  
 " the latter, which makes Fathers.

" See here the wonderful Workings of Divine Pro-  
 " vidence : As on one Side all natural Affection towards  
 " Children is not destroyed, so neither has it suffered  
 " this Affection to be unlimited and unrestrained : For  
 " if Parents were to love their Children without being  
 " led to it by a Necessity of Nature, and were only  
 " moved by the Consideration of their Probity, and  
 " good Behaviour, you would soon see all Order among  
 " human Race quite overthrown, by the Expulsion of  
 " a great Number of Children, whom Sloth and Idle-  
 " ness would drive from their Father's Houses ? On the  
 " other Hand, if Providence had in this Case laid us  
 " under an absolute Submission to the Force of Na-  
 " ture, and no Disregard was to be shewn to wicked  
 " Children, and Fathers were obliged, by the Necessity  
 " which the Law of Nature laid upon them, to persist  
 " in doing well to such as had offended them, and  
 " carried their undutiful Treatments to the utmost  
 " Length of Excess, human Nature would soon be  
 " brought to the highest Pitch of Wickedness.

" If therefore at present, when Children cannot al-  
 " together rely upon Nature, and they know that se-  
 " veral have been driven from their Father's Houses,  
 " and deprived of their Estates, for their Perversity and  
 " Depravity of Manners, do, notwithstanding, misbehave  
 " themselves towards their Parents, upon the Confidence  
 " they have in their Love, what sort of Wickedness  
 " would

“ would they not commit, if God had not allowed Parents to correct them, and take Vengeance of them ?

“ For these Reasons it has pleased God that the Parents Love should be founded as well upon the Manners of their Children, as upon a Necessity of Nature ; that they might pardon them by natural Inclination, when they did but lightly offend, and they might punish the Depraved and the Incurable, that Indulgence might not lead them to ill, if Nature had still the Superiority, and obliged them to care for them tho’ never so bad.

“ Admire, I beseech you, the Depth of Providence, which commands us to love, and prescribes Bounds to our Affection.

We, the Clergy, have made these Extracts from the Holy Scriptures, in Obedience to the Order of our Monarch, not in Form of a Sentence, nor by Way of a Decree, as has been already mentioned. This Affair does not properly fall under our Jurisdiction. For who is it can make us Judges over those that command us ? Or how can the Members govern the Head ? It is the Head which governs and directs the Members. Besides, our Jurisdiction being of a spiritual Nature, we must judge according to the Spirit, and not according to the Flesh and Blood. The Power of the temporal Sword is not given to the Church, but the Power of the spiritual Sword, which is the Word of God. *Jesus Christ* forbade, even the Prince of the Apostles, to make use of the Sword, saying to him, put thy Sword into its Place ; and he also forbade the other Disciples to bring Fire from Heaven upon *Samaria*.

*Jesus Christ* has been pleased to teach us, by these Examples, that it does not belong to Ecclesiasticks to guide themselves by a Spirit of Anger, but by a Spirit of Meekness ; not to condemn any one to Death, or seek his Blood, but only to bring him to true Repentance and a spiritual Death, which is dying to Sin, and living to the Lord, as the Apostle has expressed it in his Epistle to the *Romans*, Chap. vi.

We submit all this to the most high Consideration of his Imperial Majesty, with all due Obedience, that  
our

our Lord may do that which is agreeable in his own Eyes: If he will punish him that is fallen according to his Actions, and proportionable to the Measure of his Crimes, he has before him the Examples we have drawn from the Old Testament. If he is inclined to Mercy, he has the Example of *Jesus Christ* himself, who received the prodigal Son, when he returned and repented; who dismissed the Woman taken in Adultery, that by the Law deserved to be stoned; who prefers Mercy to Sacrifice, and says, I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice, and tells us by the Mouth of his Apostle, that Mercy rejoiceth over Judgment, *Jam. ii. 13.* He has also the Example of *David*, who was desirous to spare *Absalom* his Son and Persecutor; for he charged the Captains, who went out against him, *to spare the young Man Absalom.* The Father indeed would have spared the Son, but Divine Vengeance would not suffer it.

After having briefly deduced what goes before, the Heart of the Czar is in the Hand of God, and may he chuse the Part to which the Hand of God shall turn it.

These Considerations were signed by their own Hands in the Manner following, in the Year 1718, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of June.

*The humble Stephen, Metropolitan of Resan;*

*The humble Feofan, Bishop of Psoufski;*

*The humble Alexis, Bishop of Sarski;*

*The humble Ignatius, Bishop of Soujedal;*

*The humble Varlaam, Bishop of Twer;*

*The humble Aaron, Bishop of Korele;*

*The humble Janikiy, Metropolitan of Stauropol;*

*The humble Arsenius, Metropolitan of Fibaidski;*

*Theodore, Archimandrite of the Convent of the Trinity of Alexandroner;*

*Joachim, Archimandrite of the Convent of Anthony;*

*Joaniky, Archimandrite of the Convent of the Resurrection of Derebanidski;*

*Irmragg, Archimandrite of the Convent of Cyril;*

*Father Gabriel, Prefect and Missionary of the Word of God;*

*Father Markel, Professor.*

*On the 24<sup>th</sup> of June, the Ministers and Senators being assembled in the Chancery of the Senate, the Privy-Counsellor, Peter Tolstoi, laid before them the following Declaration of the Czarewitz, in Confirmation of his Confessions of the 19<sup>th</sup> of June, as also the criminal Examination of his Confessor James, who was degraded from the Ecclesiastical Dignity.*

ON the 19<sup>th</sup> of June 1718, the Czarewitz answered upon his Examination, that all he had confessed or declared against those he accused in his preceding Confession, and before the Senators, was true, and that he had omitted nothing, nor concealed any Person.

He farther added, That upon a certain Time his Confessor the Arch-Priest *James*, being come to *Petersburgh*, he the Czarewitz had said to him in his Confession, *I wish my Father's Death*; and that the Confessor answered him, *God will pardon you, we wish it also*.

That being at another Time at *Moscow*, and confessing himself to his own Confessor the Archimandrite *Barlam*, of the Convent of *Danilo*, he told him in Confession, that he had not made a full Declaration to his Father upon his Examination, but had concealed several Things from him, and wished his Death; upon which *Barlam* answered him, *God will pardon you, but you must tell the Truth to your Father*.

That he received the Holy Communion after both these Confessions, with the Permission of his Confessors.

The same Day the forementioned degraded Confessor *James*, being put to the Torture, and confronted with the Czarewitz *Alexis*, owned that he had said to him in Confession the aforesaid Words, upon the Question put to him by the said Confessor, *Do you not wish the Death of your Father?* and that the Czarewitz answered, *Yes, I wish it*; and that he, the Confessor, replied to the Czarewitz, *We all wish it also*; but he did not remember any particular Person who was desirous of it; but because the Czarewitz was beloved by the People, and that when he drank his Health, they called him the Hope of the *Russians*, he, the said *James*, had told it

to the Czarewitz, having heard it from several Persons, but without remembring who they were.

The same Day M. Tolstoi laid before the Senate, by Order of the Czar, the following Paper.

*Interrogatories written by the Hand of his Czarian Majesty, and delivered to M. Tolstoi, Privy-Counsellor, for the Examination of the Czarewitz.*

*Go to my Son in the Afternoon, and put down in writing the Answers he shall give to the following Questions:*

I. **W**HAT is the Reason why he has not obeyed me, and refused to do what I required of him, or apply himself to any Business, tho' contrary to the Practice of the World, as he very well knows, besides the Sin and Shame attending upon it?

II. Whence is it that he has been so little afraid of me, and has not apprehended the Consequences of his Disobedience?

III. Why did he desire to have the Succession otherwise than by Obedience, as I have formerly asked him myself? And examine him upon every Thing else, that bears any Relation to this Affair.

*Copy of the Writing under the Czarewitz's own Hand, in Answer to the aforesaid Questions.*

*June the 22<sup>d</sup>, 1718, I answered to the Points upon which M. Tolstoi has examined me.*

I. **T**H O' I was not ignorant, that to be disobedient, as I was to my Father, and refuse to do what pleased him, was opposite to the Practice of Mankind, and was also both a Sin and a Shame; yet this arose from my having been brought up from my Infancy with a Governess and her Maids, from whom I learned nothing but Amusements, and Diversions, and Bigotry, to which I had naturally an Inclination.

The



The Persons to whom I was intrusted, after I was removed from my Governess, gave me no better Instructions, particularly *Nicephorus Vafenski*, *Alexis Basili*, and the *Naraskins*.

My Father being careful of my Education, and desirous I should apply myself to what became the Son of the Czar, ordered me to learn the *German* Tongue, and other Sciences, which I was very much averse to: I applied myself to them in a very negligent Manner, and only to pass away the Time, without having ever had an Inclination to learn any Thing.

And as my Father, who was then frequent with the Army, was at a Distance from me, he ordered the most serene Prince *Menzikoff* to have an Eye upon me. Whilst I was with him, I was obliged to apply; but as soon as I was out of his Sight, the said *Naraskins* and *Vafenski*, observing my Inclination was only bent to Bigottry and Idleness, to keep Company with Priests and Monks, and drink with them, they not only diverted me from Business, but took a Pleasure in doing as I did. As they had been about me from my Infancy, I was accustomed to observe their Directions, to fear them, and comply with them in every Thing; and thus by Degrees they alienated my Affections from my Father, by diverting me with Pleasures of this Nature; so that by little and little, I had not only the military Affairs, and other Actions of my Father in Horror, but also his Person itself, which has always made me wish to be at a Distance from him.

When I found myself entrusted at *Moscow* with the Government of the Empire, finding I was at full Liberty, and Master of myself; instead of considering, that my Father had put it into my Hands to train me up, and form me for the Succession after him, if I would make myself capable of it; I gave myself up still to the Pleasures I was addicted to, with the Priests and Monks, and other People of that Temper. *Alexander Kikin*, when he was with me, constantly took a great deal of Pains to confirm me in this disorderly Way of Life.

My Father having Compassion on me, and desiring to make me worthy of the State to which I was called, sent me into Foreign Countries ; but as I was already grown to Man's Estate, and of an advanced Age, I made no Alteration in my Way of living.

It is true indeed, my Travels were in some Respects useful to me, but were insufficient to erase the vicious Habits which had taken such deep Root in me.

II. It was this naughty Disposition which prevented my being apprehensive of my Father's Correction for my Disobedience : I freely own'd it, for tho' I was really afraid of him, yet it was not with a filial Fear ; I only sought for Means to get from him, and was no wise concerned to do his Will, of which I here give you a plain Instance.

When I came back to *Petersburgh*, to my Father from abroad, he received me in a very gracious Manner ; amongst other Things, he asked me, whether I had not forgot what I had learned, and I told him no : He ordered me to bring him my Draughts ; and fearing that he would make me design in his Presence, as I knew nothing of the Matter, I studied how to hurt my Hand, so that it should be impossible for me to do any Thing at all : I charged a Pistol with Ball, and taking it in my left Hand, I let it off against the Palm of my Right, with a Design to have shot through it ; the Ball miss'd my Hand, but the Powder burnt it sufficiently to wound it ; as the Ball entered the Wall of my Closet, it may be seen there still. My Father observing my Hand to be wounded, asked me how it came ; I told him an evasive Story, and kept the Truth to myself : By this Means you may see that I was afraid of my Father, but not with a filial Fear.

III. As to my having desir'd the Succession, otherwise than by Obedience, all the World may easily guess at the Reason ; for when I was once out of the good Way, and was resolved to imitate my Father in nothing, I sought to obtain the Succession by any the most wrongful Method : I was even desirous to come at it by a Foreign Assistance, and if I had got it, and the Emperor would have put in Execution what he promised me,

me, of procuring for me the Crown of *Russia*, even with an armed Force, I should have spared nothing to have obtained it; for Instance, if the Emperor had demanded *Russian* Troops in Exchange for his Service, against any of his Enemies, or large Sums of Money, I should have done whatever he pleased, and given great Presents to his Ministers and Generals over and above: I would have entertained at my own Expence the auxiliary Troops he should have lent me, to put me in Possession of the Crown of *Russia*; and, in a Word, have thought nothing too much to have obtained my Desire.

*The Persons whose Names are under-written, being appointed by his Czarian Majesty, and assembled in the Hall to give Judgment; after having heard all that has been said, read, related, and made mature Reflections upon it, with one unanimous Consent, pronounced and ordered the following Sentence to be signed; and accordingly set their Seals to it with their own Hands.*

June 24<sup>th</sup>, 1718.

**B**Y Virtue of the express Ordinance of his Czarian Majesty, signed with his own Hand, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of June last, for the Judgment of the Czarewitz *Alexis Petrowitz*, for his Transgressions and Crimes against his Father and Lord; the under-written Ministers, Senators, States Military and Civil, after having been assembled several Times in the Chamber of the Regency of the Senate at *Petersburgh*, having heard the Originals and Extracts of the Testimonies given against him, more than once read, as also his Majesty's Letter of Exhortation to the Czarewitz, and the Answers he made to them written with his own Hand, and other Accounts belonging to the Process: And, in like Manner, the criminal Informations, Confessions, and Declarations of the Czarewitz, as well written by his own Hand, as made by Word of Mouth to his Father and Lord, and before the Persons under-written, appointed by Authority of his Czarian Majesty, for the Business of the present Judgment: They have declared and acknowledged, that though, according to the Rights of the *Russian* Empire,

It has never belonged to them, being naturally Subjects to the Sovereign Rule of his Czarian Majesty, to take Cognizance of an Affair of this Nature, which is of so much Importance, as to depend solely upon the absolute Will of the Sovereign, whose Power is derived from God alone, and is not limited by any Law, yet submitting to the said Ordinance of his Czarian Majesty, their Sovereign, who grants them this Liberty, and after mature Reflections, and upon their Conscience as Christians, without Fear, or Flattery, or Respect of Persons, having only before their Eyes the divine Laws that are applicable to the present Case, as well in the Old as the New Testament, the holy Scriptures of the Gospel and the Apostles, as also the Canons and Decrees of Councils, the Authority of the Holy Fathers and Doctors of the Church; and farther, being instructed by the Considerations of the Archbishops and Clergy, assembled at *Petersburgh*, by Order of his Czarian Majesty, which are transcribed above, and correspond with the Laws of all *Russia*, and particularly the Constitutions of this Empire, the Military Laws and Statutes, and are agreeable to the Laws of several other Nations, and especially those of the antient *Roman* and *Greek* Emperors, and other Christian Princes: The Persons underwritten, having consulted together, have unanimously agreed, without Contradiction, and declared, that the *Czarewitz*, *Alexis Petrowitz*, is worthy of Death, for his aforesaid Crimes, and capital Transgressions, against his Sovereign and Father, he being the Son and Subject of his Czarian Majesty; insomuch, that tho' his Czarian Majesty has promised to the *Czarewitz*, in the Letter he sent him by *M. Tolstoi*, Privy-Counsellor, and *Rumanow*, Captain of the Guard, dated from *Spa*, the 10<sup>th</sup> of *July*, 1717, to pardon his Escape if he freely and voluntarily returned, as the *Czarewitz* himself has thankfully acknowledged in his Answer to this Letter, written from *Naples*, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of *October*, 1717, where he has specified, that he thanked his Czarian Majesty for the Pardon which he had only given for his voluntary Flight; yet has he since render'd himself unworthy of it, by his Opposition to the Will of his Father, and by his

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other Transgressions, which he has renewed and continued, as is shewn at large in the Manifesto published by his Czarian Majesty, on the 3<sup>d</sup> of *February* of this present Year, and because among other Things he did not voluntarily return.

And tho' his Czarian Majesty, upon the Arrival of the Czarewitz at *Moscow*, where he delivered in a Confession of his Crimes in Writing, and asked Pardon for them, had pity of him, as 'tis natural for a Father to have Compassion on his Son, and at the Audience he gave him on the said 3<sup>d</sup> Day of *February*, he promised him Pardon for all his Transgressions; his Czarian Majesty only made him this Promise with an express Condition, as he declared in Presence of all the World, That he, the Czarewitz, should declare without any Restriction, or Reserve, all that he committed and contrived till that Day against his Czarian Majesty; and he should discover all the Persons who had been his Counsellors and Accomplices, and in general, all who had been acquainted with his Designs and underhand Dealings; but that if he concealed any Person or Thing, the promised Pardon should be null and void: This Condition the Czarewitz then received and accepted, at least in Appearance, with Tears, of Acknowledgment, and promised by Oath to declare all without Reserve, and in Confirmation hereof he kissed the Holy Cross, and the Holy Scriptures, in the Cathedral Church.

His Czarian Majesty also confirmed the same Things to him the next Day, under his own Hand, in the Interrogatories inserted above, which he caused to be given to him, having wrote at their Head as follows:

“ As you received your Pardon Yesterday, on Condition of discovering all the Circumstances of your Escape, and to suffer Death if you should conceal or dissemble any Thing, you then explained yourself in some Points by Word of Mouth; for our further Satisfaction, and your full Discharge, you must also do it in Writing, in the following Order.”

And at the Conclusion it was also wrote, with his Czarian Majesty's own Hand, in the seventh Article.

“ Declare



“ Declare every Thing that has any Relation to this Affair, tho’ it be not here pointed out to you, and clear yourself as if you were at Confession ; but if you hide or conceal any Thing which shall hereafter be discovered, don’t impute the Consequence to me ; for it was Yesterday declared, before the whole World, that in this Case the Pardon you have received shall be null and void.”

Notwithstanding this, the Czarewitz returned very sincere Answers and Confessions ; he concealed not only Persons, but also Affairs of Consequence, and grievous Transgressions, and particularly his Designs of Rebellion against his Father and Lord, and his ill Practices which he had long pursued, in attempting to usurp the Throne of his Father, during his Life, by several mighty Means and wicked Pretexts, founding his Hopes and Wishes, for the Death of his Father and Lord, upon the Declaration of the common People in his Favour, which he flattered himself with.

All this has since been discovered by criminal Informations, after he had refused to declare it of himself, as has appeared above.

Thus it is evident, by all these Proceedings of the Czarewitz, and the Declarations he has made by Word and Writing, and lastly by that of the twenty second of *June*, of the present Year, that he was not pleased the Succession of the Crown should devolve to him by his Father’s Death, in such a Manner as his Father would have left it him, according to the Order of Equity, and the Ways and Means which God has prescribed ; but that he desired it, and had a Design to obtain it, even during the Life-time of his Lord and Father, contrary to the Will of his Czarian Majesty, and in direct Opposition to his Inclination ; and not only by Insurrection and Rebellion, which he expected, but also by the Assistance of the Emperor, with a foreign Force, which he had flattered himself to have at his own Disposal, even at the certain Hazard of the Kingdom’s Ruin, and the Alienation of every Thing from the State, that should have been demanded of him for that Assistance.

From hence therefore it appears, that the Czarewitz by concealing all his pernicious Designs, and abundance of Persons, who held Intelligence with him, (as he has done till his last Examination, and he was fully convicted of his ill Practices) had determined to reserve to himself an Opportunity hereafter, when a favourable Occasion should present itself, of resuming his Designs, and putting in Execution his horrible Enterprize, against his Father and Lord, and the whole Empire.

He has hereby rendered himself unworthy of the Clemency and Pardon, which were promised him by his Lord and Father; as he has also owned himself, as well before his Czarian Majesty, as in Presence of all the States, Ecclesiastical and Civil, and publickly before the whole Assembly; and he has also declared, both by Word and Writing, before the Judges appointed by his Czarian Majesty, whose Names are under-written, that all that has been said above was true, and manifest by the Effects of it which have appeared.

Since therefore the aforesaid Laws, Divine and Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military, and particularly the two last, condemn to Death, without Mercy, not only those whose Attempts against their Lord and Father have been declared by Evidence, or proved by Writing, but even those who have conspired only in Thought to rebel, or have had a bare Intention against the Life of the Sovereign, to usurp his Empire: What may we think of a Design of Rebellion, which has hardly had a Parallel in the World, and is joined to an horrid double Parricide against his Sovereign, first, as the Father of his Country, and next as his own Father by Nature? A Father in himself most merciful, who has brought up the Czarewitz from his Cradle with a more than paternal Care, with a Tenderness and an Affection which have shewn themselves upon all Occasions; who has endeavoured to form him for the Government, and instruct him in the Military Art with incredible Pains, and indefatigable Application, that he might render him capable and worthy of the Succession to so great an Empire. By how much stronger Reason does such a Design deserve the being put to Death?

# PETER I. Czar of Muscovy. 101

It is with an Heart full of Affliction, and Eyes streaming down with Tears, that we, as Subjects and Servants, pronounce this Sentence; considering that it does not belong to us, as such, to enter into a Judgment of so great an Importance, and particularly to pronounce a Sentence against the Son of the most mighty and merciful Czar, our Lord. However, it being his Will that we should enter into Judgment, we declare by these Presents our real Opinion, and pronounce this Condemnation, with a Conscience as pure and christian, as we think we can answer it at the terrible, just, and impartial Judgment of the Great God.

To conclude, We submit this Sentence we now give, and the Condemnation we at present make, to the Sovereign Power, and Will, and merciful Review of his Czarian Majesty, our most merciful Monarch.

*Underneath was signed with their own Hands.*

ALEXANDER MENZIKOFF;  
*Count Apraxin, General, Admiral;*  
*Count Gabriel Gollowin, Chancellor;*  
*Prince James Dolgoruki, Privy-Counsellor;*  
*Count John Moussin Puschkin, Privy-Counsellor;*  
*Tichon Streschneff, Privy-Counsellor;*  
*Count Peter Apraxin, Senator;*  
*Baron Peter Schafiroff, Vice-Chancellor and Privy-Counsellor;*  
*Peter Tolstoy, Privy-Counsellor and Captain of the Guards;*  
*Prince Dimitri Galizin, Senator;*  
*Adam Weide, General;*  
*John Buturlin, Lieutenant-General;*  
*Count Andrew Matweof, Privy-Counsellor;*  
*Prince Peter Galizin, Senator;*  
*Michael Samarin, Senator;*  
*Gregory Czernischoff, Major-General;*  
*Prince Peter Galizin, Major-General;*  
*John Golowin, Major-General;*  
*Prince John Romadonofski, Chamberlain;*  
*Alexis Soltikoff, Boiars;*  
*Prince Matthew Gagarin, Governor of Siberia;*

Peter Buturlin, *Boiars* ;  
 Cyril Naraskin, *Governor of Moscow* ;  
 Michael Wolkoff, *Brigadier, and Major of the Guards* ;  
*The Major of the Guards of the Regiment of Preobrazinski* ;  
 Prince Gregory Yusupoff, *Major* ;  
 Paul Jaguzinski, *Major-General, and Captain of the Guards* ;  
 Simon Soltikoff, *Major of the Guards* ;  
 Dimitroff Mamonooff, *Major of the Guards* ;  
 Bazile Karzmin, *Major of the Guards of Preobrazinski* ;  
 Bazile Zatoff, *Brigadier and Inspector-General* ;  
 Gavasin Kascheleff, *Colonel* ;  
 Theodore Buturlin, *Gentleman of the Chamber* ;  
 Gabriel Noreff, *Colonel* ;  
 Prince Gurgin Schzerbain Okolnitzey ;  
 Stephen Klobozoff, *Vice-Governor of Petersburg* ;  
 Ushakoff, *Major of the Life-Guards* ;  
 Skornyakoff Pisareff, *Captain-Lieutenant of the Bombardiers* ;  
 Prince Boris Czircoff, *Captain of the Life-Guards* ;  
 Peter Lodichenski, *Vice-Governor of Archangel* ;  
 John Strekaloff, *Colonel* ;  
 Stephen Kolitchoff, *Vice-Governor of Asoph* ;  
 Peter Solowowa, *Captain of Guards* ;  
 Alexander Rumyanzoff, *Captain of the Guards* ;  
 Simeon Theodoroff, *Captain of the Guards* ;  
 Anthony Dewyer, *Master-General of the Police, and*  
*Adjutant-General of his Czarian Majesty* ;  
 Leon Ismailoff, *Captain of the Guards* ;  
 Prince John Chachoffsky, *Captain of the Guards* ;  
 Welliaminoff Zernoff, *Captain of the Guards* ;  
 Peter Sawseloff, *Colonel* ;  
 John Lighareff, *Captain of the Guards* ;  
 Alexis Baskakoff, *Captain of the Guards* ;  
 Dimitri Bestucheff Riumin ;  
 Prince Bazile Wiazemky, *Colonel* ;  
 John Scheremetoff, *Lieutenant of the Fleet* ;  
 Prince Serge Borisoff Golizin ;  
 Prince Simeon Sonzoff Zafskin ;  
 Prince Gregory Urussloff, *Captain of the Guards* ;  
 Prince Czirkaski ;  
 Matthew Golowin ;  
 Dolgorouki, *Colonel* ;

Leon Michailoff Gleboff;  
*Prince* John Borjatinski, *Colonel*;  
 Boris Neronoff;  
 Basile Rzeffsky;  
 Basile Scheremetoff, *Lieutenant of the Fleet*;  
 Stephen Neledenski Melezkoi;  
 Ronchin, *Colonel and Captain of the Life-Guards*;  
 Alexander Lukin, *Captain-Lieutenant of the Guards*;  
 Stephen Saffonoff, *Sub-Lieutenant of the Guards*;  
 Frederick Polonskoi, *Lieutenant of the Guards*;  
 Michael Czebifckoff, *Adjutant*;  
 Drumant, *Captain-Lieutenant of the Guards*;  
 Golianifchoff Kutusoff ———  
 Bucholtz, *Lieutenant-Colonel*;  
 Frederick Metroffanoff, *Captain of the Guards*;  
 John Karpoff, *Captain of the Guards*;  
 Stephen Kasadawleff, *Lieutenant-Colonel of Foot*;  
 John Koltoffkoi, *Colonel*;  
 James Backmeotoff, *Colonel, and Commander of Peters-*  
*burgh, and Captain of the Life-Guards*;  
 Elias Lutkowskoi, *Colonel*;  
*Prince* Michael Schzerbatoi, *Colonel*;  
 Artemi Zagyeffkoi, *Colonel*;  
 John Kostoff, *Lieutenant of the Guards*;  
 John Bachmetoff, *Lieutenant of the Guards*;  
 Alexis Panin, *Captain of the Guards*;  
 Basile Porosukoff, *Captain of the Guards*;  
 Frederick Wolkoff, *Lieutenant of the Guards*;  
 Abraham Schamordin, *Lieutenant of the Guards*;  
 John Polyanskoi, *Adjutant-General*;  
 John Wereffkin, *Ensign of the Guards*;  
 Alexander Taneoff, *Sub-Lieutenant of the Guards*;  
 Basile Jafikoff, *Sub-Lieutenant of the Guards and Bom-*  
*bardiers*;  
 Baschkoff Yegor, *Captain-Lieutenant of the Life-Guards*;  
 Alexis Libin, *first Commissioner*;  
 Cirile Cziczerin, *Judge of the Precause de Pomesny*;  
 Michael Argamakoff, *Quarter-Master General, and first*  
*Commissioner of War*;  
 Alexis Bibikoff, *Captain-Lieutenant of the Guards*;  
 Basile Titoff, *Lieutenant-Colonel*;



Gabriel Kosloff, *Lieutenant-Colonel*;  
 Kiseleff, *Lieutenant-Colonel de Place*;  
 Michael Anizkoff, *Lieutenant-Colonel*;  
 Naum Czogloloff, *Lieutenant-Colonel*;  
 Basile Baturin, *Lieutenant-Colonel*;  
 Nikita Skulskoi, *Major*;  
 Cirile Puschzin, *Major of a Battalion of the Admiralty*;  
 Prince Frederick Golizin;  
 Prince James Golizin;  
 Nowokschzenoff, *Sub-Lieutenant of the Bombardiers*;  
 Basile Iwanoff, *Sub-Lieutenant of the Guards*. He also  
 signed for Basile Korosteleff, *Sub-Lieutenant of the said*  
*Regiment, who could not write*;  
 Basile Nowofilzoff, *first Commissioner of War*;  
 Prince Michael Iwanoff Wadbaliskoi, *first Commissioner*  
*of War*;  
 Prince Affonasi Borjatinskoi, *Gentleman of the Chamber*;  
 Andrew Kolizoff, *Gentleman of the Chamber*;  
 Doroffei Iwaschkin, *Ensign of the Guards*;  
 Michael Krutchzchoff, *Sub-Lieutenant of the Guards*.  
 He also signed for Affonasi Wladizin, *Ensign*;  
 Prince Alexis Schechossilkoi, *Sub-Lieutenant of the*  
*Guards*. He also signed for Dewesiloff, *Captain-*  
*Lieutenant*;  
 Anisim Schezulin, *first Commissioner*.  
 John Molckanoff, *Diak*;  
 Simeon Iwanoff, *Diak*;  
 Emelian Mawrin, *Captain of the Guards*;  
 Affonasi Andreoff, *Judge of Bosprawnaia Palata*;  
 Kusmin Karaveyeff;  
 Basile Jerschoff, *Vice Governor of Moscow*;

The Assembly of the Clergy, and the Court of Se-  
 cular Judges, having thus declared their Opinion in  
 Writing, and pronounced a formal Sentence, condemn-  
 ing the Czarewitz to Death, a new Session was held on  
 the sixth of July in the Morning, and the Czarewitz  
 brought out of the Fortrefs into Court, under Guard,  
 where he was obliged to repeat the Confession of his  
 Crimes, and to hear the Sentence of Death signed  
 by the Secular Judges read to him; after which he was  
 sent back into Custody.

The

The next Day, being *Thursday* the 7<sup>th</sup> of *July*, early in the Morning, News was brought to the Czar, that the violent Passions of his Mind, and the Terrors of Death, had thrown the Czarewitz into an Apoplectick Fit. About Noon another Messenger brought Advice, that the Prince was in great Danger of his Life : Whereupon the Czar sent for the principal Persons of his Court, and caused them to stay, till he was informed by a third Messenger, that the Prince, being past Hopes; could not out-live the Evening, and that he longed to see his Father. Then the Czar, attended by the foresaid Company, went to see his dying Son, who, at the Sight of his Father, burst into Tears, and, with his Hands folded, spoke to him to this Effect : That he had grievously and heinously offended the Majesty of God Almighty, and of the Czar ; that he hoped not to recover of this Indisposition, and even if he should, yet he was unworthy of Life; therefore he begged his Majesty, for God's Sake, only to take from him the Curse he laid upon him at *Moscow* ; to forgive him all his heavy Crimes ; to impart to him his paternal Blessings ; and to cause Prayers to be put up for his Soul. During these moving Words, the Czar and the whole Company almost melted away in Tears : His Majesty returned a pathetick Answer, and represented to him in a few Words all the Offences he had committed against him, and then gave him his Forgiveness and Blessings ; after which they parted with abundance of Tears and Lamentations on both Sides.

At five in the Evening came a fourth Messenger, being *M. Oczakoff*, Major of the Guards, to acquaint the Czar, that the Czarewitz was extremely desirous once more to see his Father : The Czar at first was unwilling to comply with his Son's Request ; but was at last persuaded by the Company, who represented to his Majesty, how hard it would be to deny that Comfort to a Son, who, being on the Point of Death, might probably be tortured by the Stings of a guilty Conscience ; but when his Majesty had just stepped into his Sloop to go over to the Fortress, a fifth Messenger brought an Account, that the Prince was already expired.

The very next Day, his Czarish Majesty caused the following circular Letter to be sent to his Ministers abroad, with some Account of the Czarewitz's Death, in order to prevent the false Reports which might be spread about this tragical Event.

“ **W**E have let you know, by our Rescript of the 26<sup>th</sup> of the last Month, the criminal Steps which our Son *Alexis* has taken with regard to us, namely, his seditious Designs, and the intended Revolt against us his Father and Master ; and that we had submitted all that to the Consideration of the Clergy, and to the Judgment of our Council, the Senate, and the States Military and Civil : Who having, according to our Will, maturely examined and weighed this Affair, they have discovered more and other Circumstances and Letters, by which it clearly appears, that he had entertained Designs of Revolting against us, and to make himself Master of our Throne during our Life, which is what he has publicly confessed before us, after he had been convicted : So that our faithful Ecclesiastical Subjects, to the Number of seven Archbishops, and four Archimandrites, or Abbots, with many other Ecclesiasticks of Distinction, have presented to us their Thoughts, whereby they have acknowledged, that according to the Divine Law, and the Canons of the Church, he is guilty of Death. And the said Secular Judges, established by us, to the Number of one hundred and twenty-six Persons, after having sincerely examined and weighed the Enormity of the Crimes of our said Son, pronounced Sentence by Mouth and by Writing, that according to all Laws Divine and Human our said Son had incurred the Penalty of Death, submitting for the rest the Decision to our arbitrary Power, and to our Clemency : Which said Sentence was notified to him by our Order. And while we were debating in our Mind between the natural Motions of paternal Clemency on one Side, and the Regard we ought to pay to the Preservation and the future Security of our Kingdoms on the other, and so ponderating still upon what Resolution to take in an Affair of so great Difficulty and Importance,

Importance; it pleased the Almighty God, by his particular Will, and by his just Judgment, and by his Mercy, to deliver us out of that Embarrassment, and to save our Family and Kingdom from the Shame and from the Dangers, by abridging Yetterday the Life of our said Son *Alexis*, after an Illness which he fell into as soon as he had heard the Sentence of Death pronounced against him. That Illness appeared at first like an Apoplexy; but he afterwards recovered his Senses, and received the Holy Sacraments as a Christian; and having desired to see us, we went to him immediately, with all our Counsellors and Senators; and then he acknowledged and sincerely confessed all his said Faults and Crimes committed against us, with Tears, and with all the Marks of a true Penitent, and begged our Pardon, which according to Christian and Paternal Duty we granted him: After which, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of *July* at Six in the Evening, he surrendered his Soul to God. Although this be a great Affliction to us, we nevertheless judge it has happened by the particular Providence of God, for the Good and Repose of our Kingdoms; so that it is with a Christian Duty and Submission we receive this Affliction from the Hand of God, &c."

On the 9<sup>th</sup> of *July* the Corps of the Czarewitz, being laid into a Coffin covered with black Velvet, and a Pall of rich gold Tissue spread over it, was carried from the Fortrefs, attended by the Great Chancellor, and several Persons of the first Rank, to the Church of the *Holy Trinity*, where it was laid in State. Four Officers of the Guards were in waiting near the Body, and gave Leave to a vast Number of People, who crowded in, to kiss the Hands of the Deceased. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of *July* the Corps continued to lie in State, and the Preparations for the Funeral being finished, it was on the 11<sup>th</sup> in the Evening carried from the Church of the *Holy Trinity* back to the Fortrefs, where it was deposited in the new burying Vault of the Czarish Family, and put next to the Coffin of the Prince's late Consort. The Czar, the Czarina, and the Chiefs of the Nobility of the Court, followed in Procession. The Czar, as well



as the rest of the Mourners, carried each a small Wax Taper lighted in their Hands; but they wore no Mourning-Cloaks, and the Ladies were only dressed in black Silks. Those who assisted at the Funeral, relate that the Czar was bathed in Tears during the Procession and the Service at Church, where the Priest had chose for the Text of his Funeral Sermon the Words of *David*: *O my Son Absalom, my Son, my Son Absalom.*

Various Reports were spread concerning the Death of the Czarewitz, very many not believing that he died a natural Death. Some reported that he was obliged to take a poisoned Draught in his Prison, and others went so far as to charge his Czarish Majesty with the Cruelty of whipping him to Death with his own Hands; but sure the great Caution with which he proceeded against him, and the many Instances he gave of his paternal Affection towards him, and his Willingness to excuse and reclaim him, are sufficient to shew the Improbability of his treating him with such Inhumanity, notwithstanding he had conspired against his *Life*; and, what was dearer to him, his Country; that Country, for the Sake of which he had often hazarded his *Life*, and for the Improvement of which he had taken more Pains, and undertaken more wonderful Designs, than were hardly ever conceived by any Prince in the World before him.

The Czar thought it not improper to endeavour to silence any injurious Reports concerning this Event, and accordingly, complained at the Court of *Vienna* of the Imperial Resident at *Petersburgh*, for having wrote false Advices relating to the Differences in his Family, and the pretended Revolt of his Troops in *Mecklenbourg*, and desired the Emperor, that the Resident might be recalled: He made Instance, at the same Time, by his Minister at *Vienna*, that the Letter wrote by the late Czarewitz to his Imperial Majesty, wherein he complains of his Father, and calls him Tyrant, might be communicated; but this was declined by the Imperial Court.

His Czarish Majesty likewise, having received Information that the *Sieur de Bie*, the Resident of the States



States General at his Court, had given wrong Advices of the Affairs of *Muscovy*, he caused that Minister to be examined, and his Papers seized. The Proceedings in which Affair are fully set forth in the following Memorial, presented on this Occasion to the States.

THE Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of his Czarish Majesty, has Orders to let your High Mightinesses know that his Czarish Majesty has been a long Time informed from good Hands, that your Resident, the *Sieur de Bie*, during all the Time he has been at the Court of his Majesty, has always sent, not only to his Masters, but more especially to his Friends, and particular Correspondents, News of the slenderest Foundation, and made up of Reports extremely prejudicial to the Reputation and Interest of his Majesty: It would be in some Manner tolerable, if the Reports he sent, and the prejudicial News he wrote, had been true; but they were either entirely false, or capable, by a false Application, to turn to the Prejudice of the Affairs of his Majesty, and to the Encouragement of his Enemies; as also tending to the Diminution of that good Harmony that has hitherto subsisted between the Czar and their High Mightinesses.

Among other Things, he often makes mention in his Letters, of the great Disposition the Subjects of his Czarish Majesty are in to revolt against him; a Sort of News which is too important not to be searched into, to the Bottom.

Some Copies of his Letters, and lately some of his Original Letters, have fallen into the Hands of his Majesty, filled with these Sorts of Falshoods, which are of the greatest Importance.

The Circumstances which he alledges, would make it believed, that Things are upon the Point of a general Revolt against his Czarish Majesty.

The said Resident represents as if he was in Fear of perishing there, and that out of that Fear he desires to be recalled.

In other Letters, he makes mention of having received such Advice from some of his Friends. This is an Affair of the greatest Consequence. His

His Majesty ought necessarily to judge, that the Resident has Advice of some Machinations of a Revolt, or at least a Communication thereupon with some or other; and for Fear that when the Affair comes to be discovered, he shall be questioned upon it, he has desired his Recal; which is what may be inferred from his Letters.

His Czarish Majesty therefore esteeming that the said Resident, by his suspicious Conduct, and by the Communications which he has had, according to all Appearance, with his Majesty's seditious Subjects, is deprived of Privileges due to his publick Character, and that he has himself deprived himself thereof; considering farther, that in Case of a Rebellion, all Delays are dangerous, his Majesty has found himself obliged to take Measures, and to order his Ministers to call to them the said Resident, and to declare to him by Word of Mouth all that is abovesaid, to let him know all his evil and suspicious Conduct, and to demand of him what Ground he had for the Circumstances that are found in his Letters.

In the mean time a Search was caused to be made by a Secretary of the Chancery into the Papers of the Resident in his House, for the better Discovery of this dangerous Affair. And when the Ministers of his Czarish Majesty had clearly proved to the Resident, all his evil Practices, he could not deny them.

He confessed that he had written such Letters, saying, that he had relied upon the Intimations and Advices of some Persons; some whereof he named, but it appeared he concealed the Principal.

But in the mean time, he had engaged his Word of Honour, and his Conscience, that he would tell the Truth upon all the Points in Question, which his Majesty should propose to him; so that although he has merited to be kept in Custody, till such Time as he had accomplished his Promise, he was nevertheless immediately set at Liberty, to return to his House, where even he may live without any Guard set upon him. And on the contrary, Liberty is given to him and all his Family, and every Body that have Occasion to come to him, to go out and in at their Pleasure.

The Ministers of his Majesty sent the next Day, a  
Secretary

Secretary of the Chancery to the said Resident, according to what had been agreed with him, upon Questions drawn up in Articles, and extracted from Letters he had written, and from what he had declared by word of Mouth.

The Copy of the Answers which he made upon those Demands by Articles, has been sent to the above-mentioned Ambassador.

The Resident has acknowledged all, except his Communications, whereof he would declare nothing, alledging only, that he wrote his Reports without any evil Intention.

His Czarish Majesty thinks he has had important Reasons to proceed against him more rigourously, and to detain him in Confinement, in Example of what happened last Year in *England*; where, upon the like Suspicion of a Revolt, Count *Gyllembourg*, Envoy Extraordinary of the King of *Sweden*, was arrested, put under Guard, and had all his Papers seized: And the Example of their High Mightinesses, who arrested the Plenipotentiary Minister of the King of *Sweden*, Baron *Gortz*, with the Secretary of the Embassy, *Gyllembourg*, who were seized with all their Papers, and held a long Time in Custody under a strong Guard.

But through the Desire his Majesty has to maintain a good Friendship with their High Mightinesses, he has ordered their Resident to be treated with Moderation. And he having engaged his Word of Honour to discover the Persons from whom he has received his Advices, his Majesty has left him upon that Condition at Liberty, and has ordered to demand of him once more the Names of those Persons, the Refusal whereof has given his Majesty just Occasion of Suspicion; and if he persists in his Refusal; his Majesty will be obliged, contrary to his Desire, to put him under Arrest, till such Time as the Answer of their High Mightinesses shall arrive; for there is too much Danger in letting Affairs of that Nature fall, without searching into the Bottom of them.

His Majesty orders, for the rest, to assure their High Mightinesses of the unalterable Friendship that he will constantly maintain with this State as formerly, and that  
what

what has passed shall be no prejudice to them, the Resident having drawn upon himself these Affairs by his ill Conduct, which ought to destroy the Privileges attach'd to his Character.

At the same Time, the said Ambassador is ordered to demand of their High Mightinesses, not only the Recall of the said Resident from the Court of his Czarish Majesty, but also Satisfaction for his Conduct, which has been entirely culpable, and to send, if they think fit, another Person of Honour and Confidence in his Place, which his Majesty will take kindly, not being able to admit the said Resident any longer to his Court.

*The following are QUESTIONS put to M. de Bie, the Dutch Resident at Petersburg, and his ANSWERS to them.*

*Question I.* **W**HAT gave Occasion to the Resident to write from *Moscow*, that the Degradation of Prince *Alexis* gives a Prospect of very bad Consequences? Moreover, What Grounds had he for writing that every Thing was tending towards a Revolt in the Czar's Dominions, of which no-body has observed the least Appearance hitherto; and therefore it is demanded of him from whom he had such Advice, and with what Circumstance?

*Answer.* It being reported every where, that Prince *Alexis* was beloved by the Common People, I own, that I was afraid of the Consequence.

*Quest. II.* What Authority had he for writing to some of his Friends, that he dreaded what was to come, and that this Empire is in a very bad Condition; that the sudden Death of Prince *Alexis* caused great Uneasiness and Alarms among the People, who would not believe he died a natural Death; that he believed there would shortly be a Rebellion, and for that Reason, that he might be out of Danger, he had desired to be recalled? It is therefore asked from whom he had all those Advices, both as to the Rebellion, which he said he feared, and the Circumstances of the Prince's Death; for he mentioned



mentioned some Friends who had given him such Notices ?

*Ans.* I did not doubt of the Death of the Prince, as his Excellency the Vice-Chancellor told it to the Envoy, M. *Westphale*, on the Anniversary of the Victory of *Pultowa*; yet it is but true, that the Common People thought quite otherwise.

*Quest.* III. Upon what Foundation he wrote, as if there was a Marriage on Foot betwixt Princess *Anne*, Daughter to his Czarish Majesty, and the Duke of *Holstein*, and that the Affair was countenanced by her Majesty the Czarina, with a View to procure herself a Place of Retreat, in case of Need, as his Letter bears expressly ?

*Ans.* It appeared to me very likely, that her Majesty the Czarina, would not be against a Match betwixt the Princess *Anne* and the Duke of *Holstein*: And I own again, that I was so weak, as to fear dangerous Times, if Prince *Alexis* could have put his ill Designs in Execution, or if his Majesty the Czar (whom God long preserve) should have died.

*Quest.* IV. What Reason he had to believe that his Majesty, the Czar, has no Subjects who are faithful, and attached to him, but Prince *Menzikoff*, and some of the common People ?

*Ans.* God forbid that ever I should have thought that his Czarish Majesty had no other faithful Servants than Prince *Menzikoff*; but I was afraid, that in case of a Rebellion, many would have abandoned his Czarish Majesty, and that Prince *Alexis's* Adherents would have increased.

*Quest.* V. Who was it that gave him Advice of the Hereditary Prince's bad State of Health and Distemper ?

*Ans.* During the Time while his Czarish Majesty was in Foreign Countries, and at his Return, I heard often that the State of the Hereditary Prince's Health was very uncertain; and Madam *Blunnersose*, in particular, told my Wife, by way of Discourse, that his Highness was very weakly: This was confirmed to me by Dr. *Urbi*, who expressed his Fear that the said Prince, if God did not prevent it, would fall into a Consumption.

*Quest.*



*Quest. VI.* Since the Resident himself told the Ministers that Mr. *Gooy*, Surgeon of the Navy, acquainted him presently with the Death of Prince *Alexis*, there is Reason to judge that it was the same Person who gave him the other Advices which the Resident mentions, and boasts of in these Terms, that he had them of a good Friend?

*Ans.* It is true, that Mr. *Gooy*, the Surgeon, sent me word the 7th of this Month, about Nine o'Clock at Night, that Prince *Alexis* was dead, and that I being surprized at it, went to him myself, to know the Truth of it, when he told me, that the Prince being seized with Fear, had died of an Apoplexy; but as for any Thing else, I declare it as a Truth, that Mr. *Gooy* never designedly gave me any Advice of important Affairs, though it is true he is my Friend, and he shewed himself on several Occasions, when my Wife and Children were ill.

*Quest. VII.* He also told the Ministers, that the Midwife's Son-in-Law, occasioned his, the Resident's, Wife, to have some Suspicion as to the Death of Prince *Alexis*, by the Account he gave her of it. Therefore they ask him the Circumstances of that Report, and who else spread such false Advices; and whether he, the Resident, had any other such Advices from the said Person and his Family?

*Ans.* The *Dutch* Midwife told my Wife, that she heard from her Daughter, who is married to a Man called *Bouleffe*, that the Noon before Prince *Alexis*'s Death, Dinner was dressed at her Daughter's House for the said Prince.

*Quest. VIII.* What Ground he had to write from the Court of his Czarish Majesty, that the *Dutch* Nation was hated here? and, Whether he did not thereby design to embroil his Czarish Majesty with the Lords the States-General, notwithstanding that he could not observe any Thing here, but what was friendly and favourable for that Nation?

*Ans.* I thought I might judge of the little Regard there was in *Russia* for the *Dutch* Nation, by the Prohibition to transport hither the best of their Manufacture,

ture, and also by changing the Staple of Commerce, in a Time of War, which has cost the *Dutch* so many Millions; the Trade itself being also very much ruined, by which Abundance of People in *Holland* have been great Sufferers: But, at the same Time, I always hoped, that this might be redressed in Time by a Treaty of Commerce. As for the rest, I declare in the Sincerity of my Heart, before God, his Czarish Majesty, and all the World, that I never had any dangerous or disaffected Correspondence in the Empire of *Russia*; and that I never, from first to last, entertained any with the *Russian* Subjects about the Affairs of the State; and that I always prayed to God for the desirable Health and Preservation of his Czarish Majesty, and that my Fears ought to be ascribed to my Pusillanimity and false Reports. At the same Time I am obliged to confess, that at *Moscow* I found the *Dutch* under very great Apprehensions, which increased my Fears.

*To this MEMORIAL the States-General made the following Answer:*

*August 15, 1718.*

**T**HAT their High Mightinesses had no other Intention, than to maintain, sincerely, the good Friendship and Understanding wherein they had the Honour to live with his Czarish Majesty, for the mutual Benefit of their Territories and Subjects; and that all the Orders and Instructions, which they had given to their Resident *Van Bie*, tended only to so salutary an End: That they had heard with a great deal of Sorrow, that the said Resident had had the Misfortune to incur his Czarish Majesty's Displeasure, and that his Majesty had carried his Resentment so far, as to proceed against the said Resident in a Manner altogether extraordinary, as well with regard to his Person, as with regard to his Papers, which are both comprehended under the Protection of the Law of Nations. That their High Mightinesses do really own, that a Minister may take so unwarrantable a Liberty in concerning himself in the Affairs of the Prince to whom he is sent, and this to the  
Prejudice

Prejudice of the said Prince, or his Kingdom and Subjects, that such Minister may thereby forfeit the Protection which the Law of Nations affords to a publick Minister, when he is acknowledged and admitted as such ; but tho' their High Mightinesses do allow that Maxim, it is nevertheless incontestible, that such a publick Minister is responsible for his Actions only to his Lord and Master, or Lords and Masters who sent him, and who alone are his Judges ; nor is he bound to account for his Actions and his Conduct to any other whomsoever. As for what is alledged in Relation to Count *Gyllembourg*, it is agreeable to what is above said, since he hath been delivered up, with all his Papers, to his *Swedish* Majesty. That the Example of Baron *Gortz* had no Relation to the present Case, because he had never passed for a publick Minister to their High Mightinesses, nor was ever acknowledged or admitted as such by their High Mightinesses ; neither did they ever take upon them to examine either him or his Papers : That it would be very disagreeable to their High Mightinesses, should their Resident *Van Bie* have done any Thing contrary to their Intentions, which might be prejudicial to his Majesty or his Interests ; that he seems rather to have entertained wrong Notions of some late Passages, and their Consequences, and to have been guilty of Imprudence in writing his Sentiments, than what Prince *Kurakin* charges upon him in the Memorial communicated to their High Mightinesses, as if he had holden some dangerous Correspondence, or carried on Intrigues to the Prejudice of his Majesty. That as their High Mightinesses cannot condemn him without a Hearing, so neither will they pretend to acquit him ; but will suspend their Judgment, till they are better informed of what may be laid to his Charge ; it being their Intention to cause a strict Examination to be made into his Conduct, and all that may be charged upon him, and afterwards to proceed against him, without any Favour or Connivance, according to Justice ; and thereby to give Proofs of the Esteem they have for his Czarish Majesty and his Friendship. That their High Mightinesses, in Consideration of his Czarish Majesty's Friendship,

ship, (understanding from the said Prince *Kurakin*, that the Conduct of their Resident *Van Bie* was by no Means agreeable to his Majesty, and that he had Orders to demand his Recal) have sent Orders to the said Resident to settle his private Affairs, and to return hither the ensuing Autumn; and that he hath been since ordered by their High Mightinesses not to delay his Departure, but to come home with all Speed. That their High Mightinesses were not a little surprized, that the said Resident and his Papers were proceeded against in a Manner every Way extraordinary, before he could inform his Czarish Majesty of his last Orders; but as his Czarish Majesty hath been pleased to give Assurances of his great Friendship for their High Mightinesses, and of his Inclination to cultivate it with the State; and as their High Mightinesses are always ready to answer it on their Part, they have for these Reasons consented to recal the said Resident *Van Bie*, as demanded by Prince *Kurakin*, pursuant to his Czarish Majesty's Orders; and they will for that End dispatch new Instructions to the said Resident to come hither, and deliver those Instructions into the Hands of Prince *Kurakin*. That their High Mightinesses leave it to his Czarish Majesty to suffer the said Resident to depart or not; but their High Mightinesses hope and expect, from the Goodness and Equity of his Czarish Majesty, that he will grant to the said Resident, his Family Goods, and Baggage, with the necessary Passports to return hither in Safety; that he will cause his Papers to be restored to him, or send them sealed up to their High Mightinesses, with what his Czarish Majesty shall think proper to add to his Charge; to the End that their High Mightinesses may examine into their Resident's Conduct, and, if they find him guilty, give his Czarish Majesty suitable Satisfaction; and that they may afterwards deliberate about sending another Minister to his Czarish Majesty, to maintain the good Friendship, for which their High Mightinesses shall be always ready.

These Proceedings of the Czar to stifle the Rumours of the Publick, and his going so far as to infringe the Law  
of



of Nations on that Account, was not quite agreeable to that Greatness of Mind which he had for the most Part shewn on other Occasions; but we are to consider how tender an Affair this was, and how much more it concerned him to justify his Conduct with regard to a Son and Heir to his Crown than any other Subject. It will not be absolutely necessary to enter into a particular Detail of all the Proceedings against every Accomplice in this Conspiracy; but the Discovery being made by Steps from one to the other, at length appeared a large and frightful List of those who had engaged in the horrid Design of destroying the Great *Peter*, and in an Instant overthrowing the glorious Labours of his whole Reign. Persons were embarked in it of all Degrees, of every Age and Sex; and the Czar gave them all up to the Severity of the Law; some were racked, some beheaded, others hanged, and many were impaled alive. Those who were not condemned to Death, received the *Knout*, and the *Batoags*; and not a few were banished into *Siberia* for the miserable Remainder of their Days. The Prince and General *Dolgoruki* having been deprived of the Order of the *Elephant*, it was remitted back to the Court of *Denmark*, and he himself sent into Exile to *Casan*; but before he departed, he obtained an Audience from the Czarina to take his Leave of her, and endeavoured, in a very moving Speech, to justify himself from the Crimes laid to his Charge; and at the same Time told her, he had nothing left in the World but the Clothes upon his Back. Her Majesty gave him a favourable Hearing, and afterwards sent him a Present of two hundred Ducats. He left *Petersburgh* in a shabby black Coat, with a long Beard, and every Way in a mean Condition, to end his Days on the Estate of the rich *Stroginoſ* near *Casan*, from which Province, about the same Time, returned Count *Renchild*, the *Swedish* General, after having been nine Years a Prisoner of War, being taken at the famous Battle of *Pultowa*. He was conducted to *Abo* in *Finland*, there to be exchanged for the two *Russian* Generals, *Gollowin* and *Trubetskoy*, taken Prisoners in the Battle of *Narva*, in the Year 1702.



As to the divorced Czarina, Mother of the unhappy Czarewitz, and the Princess *Mary Alexowna*, his Majesty's half Sister, they were both closely confined; the first in the Castle of *Steutelbourg*, formerly *Notebourg*, where no one was permitted to speak to her, and even her Food was conveyed to her thro' a Hole in the Wall. And the other was shut up in a Monastery on the Banks of the Lake *Ladoga*.

*The End of the First Book.*





# B O O K II.

## The CONTENTS.

*The Negotiations of the Congress of Aland. The Death of the King of Sweden. The Execution of Baron Gortz. The Czar expostulates with the King of Poland for entering into a Treaty with the Emperor and the King of Great-Britain. King Augustus's Answer. The Alterations made in the Affairs of the North by the Death of the King of Sweden. The Lord Carteret's Memorial delivered to the Queen of Sweden. Sir John Norris arrives in the Baltick. The Czar's Descent into Sweden. Commits great Hostilities there. His Minister's Memorial to the King of Great-Britain. The Answer to it. Banishes the Jesuits his Dominions. Sets up Assemblies at Petersburgh. Falls dangerously ill, and recovers.*

**T**HE Grand Inquisition being finished, which related to the Disorders within his own Dominions, his Czarish Majesty had now Leisure to pursue what was proper to be done with regard to his foreign Affairs, and to attend to the Conferences which his Ministers and those of Sweden had begun at *Abo*, but which, as was said before, had been transferred to the Island of *Aland*, where the King of Sweden had ordered commodious Apartments to be built for the Plenipotentiaries. Baron Gortz, leaving Count Gyllembourg here, went to the King of Sweden to know his last Intentions, and returned to *Aland*, in the Month of *August*.

His

## PETER I. Czar of Muscovy. 121

His Czarish Majesty was then with his Fleet at *Hango*, from whence he went to *Abo*, to be nearer to the Negotiations, and to influence them the more. The Ministers of the Northern Allies, who had followed the Czar to *Revel*, were obliged to remain there; only Baron *Mardefeld*, his *Prussian* Majesty's Envoy, was permitted to go to *Abo*. All the Instances made by their *Britannick*, *Danish*, and *Polish* Majesties Ministers, for obtaining the same Permission, were in vain.

It was agreed that Baron *Gortz*, should return once more to the King of *Sweden*, to procure his Approbation of the Plans of Peace prepared at *Aland*, for which Purpose he departed at the End of *September*. The Conferences were in the mean time continued with Count *Gyllembourg*, for Form sake; and the Czar relied so much upon the fair Promises which Baron *Gortz* had made him, that he had consented to exchange General *Benckild*, as before mentioned, and sent him back to *Sweden*.

The main Point which the Czar had in View, was to keep by a Peace, not only *Ingria*, and Part of *Carelia*, but also *Revel*, with *Esthonia*, and *Riga*, with *Livonia*. He designed to restore to *Sweden* only *Finland* and *Carrelia*, that Part excepted which was to be dismembered from the latter Province.

Baron *Gortz*, it seems, flattered the Czar with those Hopes, and expected to persuade the King of *Sweden* to consent to those Cessions, in Consideration of the Succours by Sea and Land which his Czarish Majesty was to furnish to that King, as well for re-establishing *Stanislaus* on the Throne of *Poland*, as for retaking from the Kings of *Great-Britain* and *Denmark* what they had taken from the Crown of *Sweden*. As to the King of *Prussia*, he was to be included in the Treaty; but the Czar, the better to make his own Terms, engaged to prevail upon his *Prussian* Majesty to restore *Stetin*, with its District, for an Equivalent to be given him somewhere else. It will be easier to judge of all these Views, by reading the Plans concerted between Baron *Gortz* and M. *Osterman*, which are here inserted Word for

Word, as they were found among the Papers of the said Baron, after his tragical Death.

PLAN concerted between Baron Gortz and M. Osterman, the Czar's second Plenipotentiary, for Peace between that Prince and the King of Sweden.

I. **T**HE Czar promises and takes upon himself to see the Treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt* executed according to its literal Sense, so that the Republick of *Poland* shall make no farther Difficulty to acknowledge the future *Stanislaus* for their lawful King, and to receive him in that Quality.

To this End, the Czar shall send next Spring into *Poland*, an Army of eighty thousand Men at least. His *Swedish* Majesty, to second this Project, shall go over to *Germany* at the same Time with a numerous Army, which shall act in Concert with that of the Czar in the same View; and in Case any Power should concern itself with the Affairs of *Poland*, and endeavour to hinder the re-establishing of the Peace of *Alt-Ranstadt*, their *Swedish* and Czarish Majesties engage not to lay down their Arms before King *Stanislaus* be actually placed on the Throne of *Poland*: They engage to maintain him upon it with all their Forces, and to prefer the Republick of *Poland* in the quiet and entire Liberty of chusing their King.

II. His Czarish Majesty offers his Mediation between his *Swedish* Majesty and the King of *Prussia*, for establishing good Intelligence between those two Princes in Consequence whereof, his said Czarish Majesty will employ all Means for accommodating, in a friendly Manner, the Difference relating to *Stetin*, and the Territories possessed in *Pomerania*, as also relating to the demolishing of *Wismar*. But if the King of *Prussia* should refuse to give the King of *Sweden* reasonable Satisfaction for *Stetin* and its District, the two contracting Parties shall act in Concert to procure to the King of *Prussia* another Equivalent to his Convenience, which shall cost *Sweden* nothing. In Return, the King of *Prussia* shall be obliged to restore to the Crown of *Sweden*

*Sweden, Stetin, and that Part of Pomerania*, which did long to it; to become Guarantee of the Treaty to be made between that Crown and the Czar, and to conclude with them a defensive Alliance, pursuant to the plan formed on this Subject.

And this Alliance with *Prussia* shall be concluded to the mutual Satisfaction of the Parties, two Months after the Exchange of the Ratifications of the Treaty between *Sweden* and *Muscovy*.

III. The Czar not only thinks it just, that for the considerable Countries and Provinces which the King of *Sweden* yields up to him, he should have convenient Satisfaction, and an Equivalent elsewhere; but he even obliges himself to procure them to him; and in case the King of *Sweden* thinks an Equivalent on the Side of *Norway* convenient for him, the Czar will undertake by Force of Arms the Execution of this Project.

If the King of *Sweden* will pass over into *Germany* with a Body of Forty Thousand Men, the Czar shall send to it Twenty or Twenty-five thousand Men of the Army which he shall have in *Poland*; he shall maintain them at his own Expence, and they shall act under the King of *Sweden's* Orders, for executing the Plan which he shall have formed. If any other Powers should pretend to oppose it, the Czar engages to act against them with all his Forces; stipulating however, that the Equivalent which the King of *Sweden* shall take from *Denmark*, shall not consist of any Country on this Side of the *Baltick*.

The Operations at Sea shall be made in Concert between the two contracting Powers, and the Czar promises to join all his Naval Forces with those of *Sweden*.

IV. The Czar promises and engages to act with all his Troops to compel the King of *England*, as Elector, not only to restore *Bremen* and *Vebrden* to the King of *Sweden*, but also to give him due Satisfaction for the Damages he has sustained; and if it happens that the Crown of *England* should oppose this, the two contracting Powers promise to unite all their Forces against it,



and not to lay down their Arms till that Restitution and Satisfaction be really obtained from *Hanover*.

However, in case the King of *Sweden* should chuse before the Exchange of the Ratifications, to excuse the Czar from this Obligation; his Czarish Majesty promises and takes upon himself, to dispose the Duke of *Mecklenbourg* to yield up voluntarily and for ever to the King and Crown of *Sweden*, the Dutchy of *Mecklenbourg* and its Dependencies, for a proper Equivalent which the Czar promises to procure for that Duke; and as such Equivalent cannot be found but on the Side of *Poland*, the King of *Sweden* shall engage to assist in getting it.

And in this Case the Agreements about the Successions of Families, which are subsisting between the Houses of *Prussia* and *Mecklenbourg*, shall take Place with respect to the Equivalent to be given to the Duke of that Name.

V. Farther, the two contracting Parties shall invite other Powers to enter into this Treaty of Alliance, and they shall maintain between themselves good Friendship, Confidence, and Neighbourhood.

*Conditions concerted between Baron Gortz and M. Osterman, the Czar's Plenipotentiary, for attaining Peace.*

I. **T**HERE shall be a perpetual Peace and Alliance between the two Crowns.

II. General Friendship.

III. For establishing a more strict Friendship and Confidence, the two contracting Powers agree to exchange certain Territories and Countries, and to settle a new Frontier between their Dominions.

IV. The Czar promises to restore to *Sweden* the great Dutchy of *Finland*, and all that depends on it.

V. The Province of *Carelia*, except what shall be dismembred from it.

VI. The Powers shall settle a new Frontier for the future.

N. B. This Barrier is, indeed, not specified in the Project; but a geographical Map was joined to it, in which

ich is seen a Line drawn from *Wybourg* to the *White*, passing by the Lakes of *Ladoga* and *Oneza*; and Countries on this Side of that Line, were to be added up for ever to *Sweden*.

VII. And whereas the Czar promises to procure to the King and the Crown of *Sweden* what shall be for Convenience in another Part, and to indemnify him entirely, his *Swedish* Majesty yields to the Czar and to the Crown of *Russia* for ever, &c.

N. B. Baron Gortz has not named those Cessions in the Project, referring them to the Pleasure and Decision of the King of *Sweden*; but it is evident, by the Line above-mentioned, that they were to consist of part of *Livonia*, all *Estonia*, *Livonia*, and *Ingria*.

*Baron Gortz's Plan of Execution.*

WHEREAS it is stipulated in the Treaty with the Czar, that the Peace with *Prussia* shall be concluded in some Manner or other; *Prussia* must necessarily be engaged in this Plan.

I. Immediately after the Conclusion of the Peace, the King of *Sweden*, the Czar, and the King of *Prussia*, shall endeavour to bring together as much Shipping as is necessary for transporting forty thousand Men, and those Ships shall be in *Sweden* before the Winter, that they may be put in a Condition to serve for transporting those Forces as soon as the Sea shall be open.

II. In the mean Time, the Czar shall keep in Readiness the Men of War stipulated by the Auxiliary Treaty, so that the End they may be able to join the *Swedish* Fleet as soon as the Sea shall be open.

III. Likewise the Czar shall take care, that the Body of Auxiliary Forces, from twenty to twenty-five thousand Men, designed for *Mecklenbourg*, be actually there before the Arrival of the Transports from *Sweden*.

IV. When all these Forces shall have joined on the other Side, the Body of *Russians* shall march directly to the Country of *Luneburg*, with whom the King of *Sweden* shall cause 6000 *Hessians* to join, and shall endeavour

deavour to get also some Troops from the neighbouring Princes.

V. But the King of *Sweden* shall go with his Army into *Holstein* and *Jutland*, and remain there; partly to try whether *Denmark*, by this Step only, may be induced to yield to Peace, and partly to be at hand to support the Body of *Russians*, in case Succours should come to the *Hanoverians*.

VI. The two Fleets shall keep together all the Year, and endeavour to stop the Passage of the *Belts*, to the End the *Danish* Troops in *Holstein* and *Jutland* may not return into *Zealand*, nor any be sent from thence into *Holstein*; and for the rest, they shall do all that is possible to keep the *Danish* Fleet shut up, and to cut off all Communication with *Denmark* from Abroad.

VII. In the mean time, the Czar shall remain with an Army of at least 60,000 Men in *Poland*, without declaring his true Intentions. On the contrary, under his Mediation a Treaty shall be set on Foot between the King of *Sweden* and King *Augustus*; and that Negotiation shall be spun out till the Affair with *Hanover* and *Denmark* be ended. Then that of *Poland* shall be jointly undertaken in Favour of *Stanislaus*.

VIII. As for what relates to *England*, the two Parties shall take their Measures to disable the Court from engaging the Nation in any Proceedings contrary to these Schemes: The like shall be done with respect to *Holland*.

IX. The King of *Prussia* shall also draw together his Troops on that Side which shall be judged most convenient for the Common Cause.

These Pieces plainly shew, that a Design was formed for conquering *Norway*. The Czar, according to these Plans, was obliged to assist his *Swedish* Majesty by Force of Arms in that Expedition; and the two contracting Parties promised to unite all their Forces against *Great-Britain*, if it should intermeddle; which seemed to have a View to the Interest of the Pretender, and a Design of attempting an Invasion in *Scotland* in his Favour, af-  
ter

the Conquest of *Norway*, which he had been so often at in Hopes of.

The forementioned Plans seem to be framed by the *Muscovite* Court; for it is certain that the King of *Sweden* was resolved to insist on the Restitution of *Livonia* and *Esthonia*, and was very far from being willing to hold up to the Czar the important Place of *Revel*. But the Czar, who had a Mind to keep all his Conquests, except *Finland*, caused the said Plans to be drawn up to his own Liking by M. *Osterman*, and then gave them in Trust to Baron *Gortz*, in Hopes that the Consideration of the powerful Assistance by Sea and Land, which he offered to the King of *Sweden*, for procuring him the restitution of what the other Northern Allies with-held from him, and for restoring *Stanislaus*, would be enough to prevail with him to consent to the extraordinary concessions he demanded of him. It was known that Baron *Gortz*, when he left *Aland* to go to the King of *Sweden*, gave the *Russian* Plenipotentiaries to understand, that he was not without Hopes of perswading his *Swedish* Majesty to accept the Plans, which he was carrying to him from the Czar.

During the Time that these Projects were in Agitation, the Czar's Resident at *London* continued to propose Plans of Operations against *Sweden*, and to profess his Czarish Majesty's Desire of living with the King of *Great-Britain* in the most strict Friendship; which Protestations were the Cause of sending the Resident *Jefferyes* to *Petersburgh*.

He set out from *London* in *October*: Admiral *Norris*, who was still in the *Baltick* with his Squadron, had Orders to go with Mr. *Jefferyes* to the Czar's Court; but when the Resident arrived at *Copenhagen*, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of *November*, he found that Admiral *Norris* had sailed with his Fleet some Days before to return to *England*, which obliged him to continue his Journey alone to *Petersburgh*, where he did not arrive before the 15<sup>th</sup> of *January*, 1719.

His Instructions were the most moderate that could be. He had Orders to make the most obliging Return to the Advances made by the Resident *Wesselowski*, and

to declare that, as to the Plans of Operations, they chiefly regarded the Crown of *Denmark*, seeing it lay most exposed, and was threaten'd on the Part of the King of *Sweden* with an Invasion in *Norway*.

However, the Resident was to intimate, that it was not easy to concert with the Czar the Operations for pushing on the War against *Sweden*, at the Time when those two Powers were actually negotiating together at *Aland*, and when all *Europe* was expecting every Moment to hear that their Peace was made.

Doubtless, it must be allowed, that his *Britannick* Majesty could not explain himself upon the Plans of Operations, if it be considered that he was well informed, that on the Czar's Part Concerts were demanded of him in Writing only to produce them to the *Swedish* Plenipotentiaries at *Aland*, and thereby to determine their Master to consent to a separate Peace, for which his Czarish Majesty longed so ardently.

The Resident *Jefferyes* had Orders also, modestly to complain of the good Reception the *Jacobites* still found at the Czar's Court, who had employed several of them in his Navy, and had lately considerably augmented their Pay, for encouraging them to stay in his Service: The Resident was likewise to complain, that the Czar's Minister at *Paris* had done his utmost Endeavours to divert the Regent from signing the *Quadruple Alliance*; when at the same Time Prince *Kurakin*, in his Station, employed the most pressing Instances to hinder the States General from acceding to it, and was labouring to form Engagements between his Court and that of *Spain*.

The Czar, in the mean Time, kept exactly with the King of *Sweden*, the Promise he had made to Baron *Gortz*, not to disturb his Majesty during his Expedition against *Norway*; and having undertaken nothing in his *Sea-Campaign*, returned to *Petersburgh* on the 15th of *September*, where he found the Czarina delivered of a Princess, who was named *Natalia*. His Majesty ordering his Vessels to *Cronslot*, and Preparations being made to lay them up and unman them, there was no Doubt made but the Peace was as good as concluded between *Russia* and *Sweden*.



The King of *Denmark*, who saw the Storm he was threatened with, coming upon him, caused the most earnest Instances to be made to the Czar for his Assistance on so pressing an Occasion, either by Ships or by Subsidies, or by a Diversion in *Old Sweden*. But all was equally refused, and the King of *Sweden* was so well assured that his Czarish Majesty would suspend all Operations, that he sent for his Battallion of Guards, and great Part of the Garrison of *Stockholm*, to the Frontiers of *Norway*, leaving *Old Sweden* entirely unprovided.

Baron *Gortz*, after a very short Stay at *Aland*, set out again from thence, to go to the King his Master a third Time; and it was not questioned but this third Journey would give the finishing Stroke to the separate Peace, when all Hopes of it were blasted by the Death of the King of *Sweden*, which happened in the Night between the 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of *November* O. S. at *Fredericksboll*, a Town of *Norway*, situated near the Bay of *Denmark*, at the Mouth of the River *Tissendal*, between the Towns of *Babus* and *Anso*. His Majesty had already taken the Fort of *Guldenlew*, which would have soon made him Master of the Place, altho' bravely defended by the Governor. He went about nine o'Clock at Night to visit the Trenches, and standing with his Body exposed to a Battery of Cannon pointed directly against the Place where he stood, a heavy Ball of half a Pound struck him on the Right Temple, and made a large Hole in his Head, which lay on the Parapet, with the Left Eye beaten in, and the Right out of its Socket.

Thus ended, in the thirty-sixth Year of his Age, the rapid Course of that most extraordinary Prince, *Charles XII.* whose Intrepidity and Presence of Mind in all Dangers, made him perform such Exploits, as the Relation of them will hardly gain Credit with Posterity. Patience of Labour, Temperance in Living, Modesty in Success, and Liberality to his Friends, were Virtues he possessed in the highest Degree; but his Rashness and Obstinacy were Failings that cost his own Country as much, or more, than his Enemies. If he had been more prudent and less implacable, he might not per-

haps have been cut off in the Flower of his Age, but have lived a happy, as well as a glorious Monarch.

The Death of *Charles* entirely changed the Face of Affairs in the North. Baron *Gortz*, who was not yet informed of the King's Death, was arrested as he was going to seek him at the Siege of *Frederickshall*. He had drawn upon himself the Hatred of all the Nation, by the pernicious Council he had given their King, and by the Haughtiness with which he had treated the Nobles, to whose Resentment he soon fell a Sacrifice, being by them condemned to the Scaffold, where he died with great Resolution. The Sentence pronounced upon him, was to be beheaded by the common Hangman, and to have his Corpse buried under the Gallows. Having heard this Sentence with great Composure, he said he had prepared for Death for several Days, but had not expected the last Part of his Sentence, which he thought too hard. He was answered by no body, except a Colonel, Son-in-Law of the late Count *Piper*, one of his Judges, who said to him, *The Evils you have done to this Kingdom, and which you threatened still to bring upon it, fall now upon your own Head.* The Baron not deigning to make him any Reply, looked upon him with Scorn, and so he was carried back to his Prison in the Town-House, and went from thence to the Block. A little before his Execution he made his own Epitaph, in these Words:

*Mors Regis, Fides in Regem, est Mors mea.*  
*The King's Death, and my Loyalty to him, are the Occasions of my Death.*

Several Persons, who were in the Confidence of *Gortz*, were likewise arrested, and an Officer was dispatched at the same Time to *Aland*, to seize on Secretary *Stambke*, and all his Papers; by which the *Muscovites* were apprised of the Death of the King of *Sweden*, and that the Army had proclaimed *Ulrica*, his Sister, Queen. This News for some Time confounded the Czar, who saw all his Projects of Cession and Peace overthrown, which *M. Osterman* concerted with *Gortz*; but his Disquietudes were dissipated as soon as he reflected on the miserable Condition to which *Sweden* was reduced, by

the many thousand Men she had lost in *Norway*, and by the Divisions that must arise in the very Bosom of the State, at a Conjunction when she would find herself without Fleets, without Money, without Corn, and without Allies. But the Re-union of Men's Minds in Favour of the new Queen, and the Resolution of the States to raise four Armies, and fit out a good Fleet, left him in no Hopes, but by making a considerable Descent into the very Heart of *Sweden*; unless that Nation, intimidated by the Prospect of a Continuance of that War, which had been already too long and too bloody, should consent to receive those Laws he intended to impose upon it; and to leave a Door open for this Purpose, his Czarish Majesty signified his Desire, that the Congress of *Aland* might go on.

And in the mean Time several other Persons concerned in the late Czarewitz's Treason, were publickly executed at *Petersburgh*. The first was *Abraham Fedorowitz Lopuchin*, Brother to the late repudiated Czarina *Oitokesa*: The next was *James Pustinoi*, the Czarewitz's Confessor; *Ivan Assonassief*, his Master of the Horse and Confident; followed by *Dubroski*, a Gentleman of his Court; *Voinow*, the Steward of his Household, and four more of his Servants. The first five had their Heads cut off, and the others had the *Knout* given them; but one had also his Tongue cut out, and his Nose cut off. The Bodies of those who had been beheaded, lay exposed for some Days in the Market-Place, with their Heads under their Arms; and then they were twisted upon Wheels.

Immediately after this Execution, his Czarish Majesty went to his Council of War, lately established, and which were then sitting, being called together on the Occasion, to whom he made the following Speech.

MY BRETHREN,

“ I Do not believe there is a Man among you, who does not know by the Light of Nature, and by the Knowledge he has acquired in the Affairs of the World, that the two first and principal Duties of him whom God has appointed to govern Kingdoms and

whole Nations are, to protect his Subjects against the publick Enemy, by leading in Person his Armies to Battle in Time of War; and to maintain Domestick Peace among his People, by rendering speedy and impartial Justice to every one, and by punishing Offences in Persons of the most elevated Condition, by their Birth or Fortune, as duly as in the meanest Peasant. You know what I have done from the Beginning of my Reign till now, with respect to the first of these Duties; and as to the second, I have given you a most remarkable Instance of the Power God has given me, to set aside all the Considerations and all the Regards in the World when Justice is to be done, and when the Safety of my People, and the Good of the State require my doing it without Delay, and with Rigour. You have seen me punish the Crimes of a Son, who was ungrateful, an Hypocrite, perverse and ill-designing, beyond all that can be imagined, and of those who were Accomplices in his Wickedness: And I hope I have thereby secured my main Work, which is to render the *Russian* Empire for ever powerful and formidable, and all my Dominions flourishing. A Work which has cost me so much Toil, and my Subjects so much Blood, and so great Treasures, and which the first Year after my Decease would have been utterly overturned, and trampled under Foot, if I had not taken care of it in the Manner I have done. This great Affair being, by the Grace of God, concluded, it is Time I should turn my Attention to the repressing the Insolence of those who have dared to abuse the Power which I gave them to govern the Provinces of my Empire, and their Inhabitants, in the Quality of my Lieutenants; several of whom, in Violation of their Oaths, have set their Feet on the Necks of my poor People, and have enriched themselves at the Expence of their Sweat, and of their Blood. Now as the People have, in my Opinion, too well deserved, (by all they have been obliged to furnish in Recruits, in Horses, in Money, and in Provisions, to support my just Cause against the Enemy with whom I have been eighteen Years at War, and to supply my other pressing Occasions) that I should interpose for their Relief



Chief against those Blood-suckers ; I have resolved to establish a Tribunal, of which my General of Foot, *Adam Adamewitz Weide*, whom I have never yet found faulty in any Thing, shall be President ; the Lieutenant Generals *Butterlin* and *Schlippenbach*, the Major-Generals *Galliczin* and *Jagotschinsky*, and the Brigadiers *Wolhoff* and *Ustaffold*, shall be Assessors. This Tribunal shall examine strictly the Management and Behaviour of the Persons whose Names I shall give them, in the Administration of their Offices, and shall pronounce Sentence against those who shall be found Criminals. I hope the establishing this Tribunal will prove a Means to restrain every one for the future within the Duties of his Employment, and to induce them to execute in the best Manner, the Powers with which they shall be intrusted."

Prince *Menzikoff* being accused before this new Council, or *Chamber of Justice*, 1. Of having preferred his own Advantage to that of his Master, in the Government of *Ingria* ; 2. Of having connived at the Commerce, in contraband Goods, carried on by the Brothers *Soloffof* ; and 3. Of having maintained for some Time a secret Correspondence with a Minister of *Sweden* ; that Prince was found guilty, and, having submitted to the Sentence of the Court, delivered up his Sword, and went to his own House, to be there under Confinement, till his Majesty's Pleasure should be known.

Prince *Dolgoruki* was the next that was called ; but this old *Knees* pleaded his own Cause with so much Eloquence, that the Judges thought fit to make Report to the Czar before they gave Sentence.

The Grand Admiral, Count *Apraxin*, was found guilty of Frauds and Embezzlements in victualling and paying the Fleet ; and as, after he was seized, the Czar took from him the Order of St. *Andrew*, it was believed he would have been capitally punished.

The Senator *Apraxin*, Brother of the Admiral, and formerly Director-General of the Salt-works, was accused of concealing, and converting to his own Profit, a hundred thousand Crowns a Year of their Produce.

Several



Several others were likewise called to Account, and found guilty, and when every Body expected that severe Punishments would be inflicted on them, the Czar was prevailed upon by the Remembrance of their former Merits and faithful Services, to restore them to his Favour; but on Condition of being largely mulcted.

About this Time died Dr. *Areskin*, the Czar's first Physician, who has been mentioned before. The *English Jacobites* were supposed to have lost a good Friend in this Gentleman; but it was said, that his Relation, Sir *Harry Stirling*, under Pretence of claiming the Doctor's Effects, was well received at the Court of *Russia*, and had the Care of the Pretender's Affairs in his Stead. The Doctor, by his last Will, bequeathed all his ready Money to his Brothers and Sisters; and all his Estate in Land and Boors to the Princess, eldest Daughter of the Czar; and to the Hospital of *Edinburgh* the Money that should arise from the Sale of his Moveables. He was interred with great Funeral Pomp, the Czar himself assisting in the Procession, and, according to the Custom of the Country, carried a lighted Torch in his Hand; as did two hundred more, to the new Monastery of *St. Alexander Newsky*, seven Wersts from *Petersburgh*, where the Body was deposited on the Fourth of *January*, 1719.

On the 15th Day of the same Month, Mr. *Jefferys*, the *British* Resident, arrived at *Petersburgh*, and a few Days after had an Audience of the Czar, to whom he made a Speech in the *German* Tongue, to this Effect:

“THAT the King of *Great-Britain* had ordered him to make his Majesty the most sincere and friendly Compliments on his Part, and to acquaint him how entirely the King his Master was satisfied with the Representations, which M. *Wesselowski*, his Czarish Majesty's Resident at the Court of *Great-Britain*, had from Time to Time made in his Name. That nothing could be more acceptable to the King his Master, than the Assurances his Czarish Majesty had given him by his said Minister, that he would explain himself in such a Manner as should demonstrate his sincere Intentions to maintain a perfect

perfect Friendship and good Understanding with him. That, for that Reason, his *Britannick* Majesty had resolved to send Sir *John Norris*, with the Character of Envoy Extraordinary, to his Czarish Majesty ; but that he (Mr. *Jefferyes*) had been detained so long by contrary Winds, that Sir *John Norris* was sailed from the *Sound* some Days before his Arrival at *Copenhagen*. That the King his Master, being informed of this Disappointment, and being unwilling to let slip any of the Advances made by his Czarish Majesty, had sent Orders to him to continue his Journey, and to open the Instructions designed for Sir *John Norris* ; pursuant to which Instructions, he was not only to return his Czarish Majesty Thanks, for the obliging Declaration he had been pleased to make by his before-mentioned Resident at the *British* Court ; but likewise to assure his Czarish Majesty of the perfect Esteem the King his Master had for his Person ; and that his Majesty had nothing more at Heart than to establish an entire Confidence, and to enter into Engagements of the most sincere and lasting Friendship with his Czarish Majesty."

The Czar answered in the *Russian* Language, That he thanked his *British* Majesty for the Assurances he gave him of his Friendship ; and that he would endeavour to cultivate it on his Part, to the utmost of his Power.

In the Beginning of *February* his Czarish Majesty ordered Counsellor *Osterman* to come to *Petersburgh* for new Instructions, and the Conferences went on between M. *Bruce* and Count *Gyllembourg* ; but *Osterman* was not sent back to *Aland* till the Beginning of *April*, when the Queen of *Sweden* was come to a Resolution of naming Baron *Liliensted* to supply the Place of Baron *Gortz*, at the Congress, where he arrived in the Month of *June*.

In the mean Time his Czarish Majesty, having been at *Olonitz*, to drink the Waters of that Place, by which he found much Benefit, went to *Ladoga*, situated on the Mouth of the River *Wolkofa*, which he had rebuilt, and made a very large City from an inconsiderable Village ; his Design in which was to have a Castle there, and a Magazine of Provisions, for the Use and Convenience

ence of a prodigious Multitude of People, which he had drawn from several Parts of his Empire, to cut a Canal as far as *Slutelbourg*, and make a Communication between the River *Wolkofa* and the *Neva*, and thereby prevent the dangerous Passage of the Lake *Ladoga*, in crossing which above a hundred Ships were lost every Year one with another. In this Undertaking there were employed, at this Time, about twelve thousand Men, and a great many more afterwards ; by which we may see how continually, and in how extensive a Manner, his Thoughts were employed for the Improvement of his Country.

His Czarish Majesty, upon his Return to *Petersburgh*, in the Beginning of *March*, being informed of a Treaty concluded between the Emperor, the King of *Great-Britain*, as Elector of *Hanover*, and the King of *Poland*, took it so very ill of the last of those Princes, that he wrote him the following Letter, to expostulate with him about it.

*A Letter from the C Z A R to the King of P O L A N D.*

“ WE have been informed, that General Field-Marshal *Flemming*, by your Majesty's Orders, has been negotiating at the Imperial Court, on the Part of the Republick, an Alliance against us, to which that General was to induce not only the Emperor, but other Powers, by making use of divers false Reports and forged Suppositions, charging us with a Design to tear from the Kingdom of *Poland*, not only the Dutchy of *Courland*, but other Provinces also, and to rend the whole Kingdom, as likewise to excite War and Commotion in the Empire ; insinuating, that the keeping our Forces in *Poland*, shewed we had such deep Designs as were contrary to the Interest of the Emperor and other Powers, with other Matters of the like Nature. In the same Manner your Majesty's Consul at the *Ottoman Porte* spreads the like Reports of us there, and prompts the *Porte* to a War against us. We are likewise informed, that such Propositions have been made at *Warsaw* to the *Tartarian Envoy* by your Majesty's Ministers,

Ministers, in order to incite the *Cham of Crim Tartary* to invade our Dominions.

The Advices we have received of all this are so strong, that we cannot help believing such hostile Behaviour against us must be occasioned by your Majesty's Order, tho' we never gave the least Occasion for it, nor deserved such Usage at your Hand ; for the good Offices we have done to your Majesty from the Time of your Election to the Crown of *Poland*, and since your re-assuming it, (of which the late Pacification, after the General Confederacy in *Poland*, is a fresh and plain Instance) are too well known not only to your Majesty, but to all *Europe*.

And as we are entirely ignorant of what has given Birth to such invidious Reflections against us, which are a meer Imposture, contrived by the said General to impose upon your Majesty ; we protest before Almighty God, and all the World, that we are innocent of them, forasmuch as we never intended to withdraw the Dutchy of *Courland* from the former Protection of the Republick, but rather, by Treaty with the King of *Prussia*, engaged to maintain a Country situated between the Dominions of us both, under the Sovereignty of its own Prince, and the Protection of the Kingdom of *Poland*, nor permit it to become subject to any other Power.

As for what relates to the pretended dismembring of other Provinces from *Poland*, and dividing that Kingdom, such a Design certainly never entered into our Thoughts ; and your Majesty knows how many and advantageous Offers were made to us upon that Head, ever since the Beginning of our Reign, which we always rejected, declaring and protesting, that neither we ourselves pretended to any Part of the Kingdom, nor would suffer another to take any Part of it. So much the less therefore are we willing to suffer that it be divided; subdued, or that an Hereditary Succession be set up in it against the Will of the State ; a Thing we can never permit, both by Reason of the Friendship, and the ancient and late Alliances we have with that neighbouring Kingdom, and in Consideration of our own Interest.

Yet,



Yet, for all this sincere, friendly, and well-meaning Conduct, we have met with no other Return than those invidious Reflections. Whoever is but a little versed in Politicks and Affairs of State, may easily discern, that there was no fairer Opportunity of executing any Design we might have had upon *Poland*, than when, upon the Victory we obtained near *Pultowa*, all was left to our Power and Disposition; and had we had a Mind at that Time, when your Majesty had abdicated the Crown, to place another instead of the expelled *Stanislaus Lesinski*, on the Throne of *Poland*, (for doing which great Application was made to us) it had been easy for us to do as we pleased, and consult our own Profit: But with what Zeal and Magnimity we espoused the Interest of your Majesty's Person, so injuriously treated, and assisted you in the mounting the Throne of *Poland* again, is plain to all the World; nor can we believe that it has already escaped your Majesty's Memory.

What relates to our Forces continuing in or returning to *Poland*, the Reason why the Body of our Troops, marching from *Mecklenbourg* to our Dominions, had Orders on the Frontiers of the Republick to return back, was because we heard that the Agreement we had made with the City of *Dantzick*, pursuant to which that City was to fit out, in your Majesty's Name, certain Privateers for the common Interest of the Allies, and against their common Enemy, the King of *Sweden*, had been disapproved, which is a great Injury to us, and Neglect of us, though it was concluded with your Majesty's Consent and Approbation, and that your Majesty had engaged to us to give Leave to those of *Dantzick* to perform that Agreement. Yet they were forbid to fit out those Privateers, notwithstanding, by vertue of our Alliances with your Majesty and the Republick, all Manner of Damage ought to be done to the Enemy wherever Occasion offers; instead of which, by permitting those of *Dantzick* to carry to the Enemy's Dominions Money, Provision, and Ammunition, the Enemy is actually supplied with warlike Stores and Necessaries for Life, which we cannot construe otherwise than to be designed to our Prejudice and Damage. Another Reason



son why our Forces were to continue in *Poland* was, because we had Reports, supported by weighty Arguments, that the States of the Republick were to be compelled, in the Diet of *Gródno*, to name a Successor and Heir to the Crown; an Affair to which we never will consent. And as we have made it our Care to maintain the Liberties and Rights of the Republick on many Occasions, with the Hazard of our own Person, and the Lives of our Subjects, we declare hereby, that we will do the same for the future. Yet, when your Majesty and the Republick desired us, by Letters sent from the Diet at *Grodno*, to cause our Forces to evacuate their Territories, we condescended, without any Delay, by returning satisfactory Answers to every Particular alledg'd in those Letters relating to this Affair, and sending Orders to our Forces to march out of the Kingdom, which they are actually doing.

Concerning the false Asperſion and Imputation, as if we had manifested our ill Intentions against the Emperor and the Empire, we assure your Majesty also in this Point, that we never had such Thoughts; but rather have always been studious how to cultivate Friendship and good Correspondence with his Imperial Majesty, and to tie those Bands still faster by all possible Methods, being still willing to continue in the same Disposition. Of which our good Intention, and that we never aimed at any Thing in the Empire, we can alledge as an evident Proof, that when, upon your Majesty's Requisition, we marched our Army into the Territories of the Empire, and took the Fortrefs of *Stetin* and other Places; yet we kept none of them in our Possession, to do which we had a favourable Opportunity in that Juncture, but delivered them up into the Hands of our Confederates, as being Part of the Empire; nor did our Army remain any longer in the said Territories, than till Satisfaction was made to us for the Expences of that Expedition. Consequently, considering the present Posture of the Emperor's Affairs, by which both his Hands are left free, there is much less Room now than there was at that Time to suspect a Design of any Hostilities against his Imperial Majesty, the Empire, or any other Power still more remote from our Dominions.

Having

Having thus made out to your Majesty, that those Reports spread against us are groundless and deceitful Contrivances, we proceed to desire your Majesty, as a Brother and Friend, to have Regard not only to the many Marks we have given you of a ready Friendship and constant Affection, but also to the Engagements your Majesty is under, both by the Treaty of a perpetual Peace concluded with one of your Majesty's Predecessors, of glorious Memory, in the Year 1606, and by the Treaties of Alliance concluded with your Majesty and the Republick against the King of *Sweden*, to desist from such Undertakings, and to put a Stop to the Negotiations that are carried on against us, both at the Imperial Court and the *Ottoman Porte*, forasmuch as such Enterprizes are contrary to the twenty-fourth Article of the said Treaty of perpetual Peace, and to the several Treaties of Alliance we have entered into with your Majesty and the Republick; namely, the thirteenth Article of the Treaty concluded the 14th of *August* 1704, the thirteenth Article of that of the 10th of *October* 1709, and the late Conventions made at *Dantzick* the 26th and 27th of *April*, and 7th of *May*, by which it is stipulated, that nothing shall be altered in or added to the Tenor of those Treaties, either by advising or concurring in such Negotiations as are prejudicial to any of the contracting Parties, or by entering into such Engagements as interfere with those Alliances, but that every Thing shall be communicated and done by common Consent; all which is more at large set forth in the said Treaties. And as we, on our Part, have faithfully executed and observed both our Engagements, and the late Convention made at *Dantzick* between our Ministers and those of your Majesty, who were there at that Time, and afterwards signed at *Grodno* on your Majesty's Part, by which the said General *Flemming*, having communicated to your Majesty all the Particulars, both of the Treaty we were negotiating with *France*, and of the Negotiations in the Island of *Aland*, even before they were begun; and the said Negotiations being begun and carried on, not only with your Majesty's Consent, but with your Advice and Concurrence, by the Barons *Manteuffel* and

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and *Lose*, your Majesty's Ministers both here and at *Berlin*: Therefore we desire your Majesty to be pleased confidently to communicate to us what is negotiating at *Vienna*, and to let us know whether any Thing has been proposed or concluded there to our Prejudice, to the End we may, in Time, take our Measures accordingly. But in case your Majesty should refuse to give us the Satisfaction of acquainting us with that Negotiation, according to the Tenor of the abovesaid Treaties, and should secretly go on with it, or bring it to a Conclusion, we must look upon such a Proceeding as an open Rupture and Infringement of the Treaties subsisting between us, and oppose it by competent Measures. We have ordered Prince *Dolgoruki*, our Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary residing at your Majesty's Court, to explain this more at large by word of Mouth, and We expect his Report to us, with a speedy and acceptable Answer from your Majesty.

*Petersburgh*, Jan.  
18. 1719.

*Peter Count Gollowin.*

*The King of Poland's Answer to the Czar's Letter.*

"THE whole Kingdom has been filled with Copies of your Czarish Majesty's late Letter, dispersed and made publick in a Manner contrary to Custom and the Nature of true Friendship, before the Original was delivered to us by Prince *Dolgoruki*: This should justly have given us Reason to suspect it was done designedly and maliciously, in order to disturb the publick Peace, to create Jealousy, and to break the strict Union that is between us and the States of the Republick; though we are confident our just Actions and sincere Intentions towards the Republick, (whose Liberty we always have endeavour'd to preserve untouch'd, and accordingly have rejected all Advices that have been given us to the contrary) will render ineffectual those Artifices and Attempts tending to dissolve that Union between us and the Republick. We were of Opinion, that after so many sincere Explanations which we have given to your Czarish Majesty's Ambassador, both by Word of Mouth  
and

and by Writing, and of which we have given real Proofs, and after the Detection of the Falseness of what has been contrived in former Times, your Majesty ought not to give Ear nor Credit to the like Reports, the Falseness of which is so evident, that it discovers itself without any Proof. For, as to our Minister, Count *Flemming*, and his Negotiations at the Court of *Vienna*, all that has been done was with our Knowledge, and by our Direction, as appears by his Reports to us, and to the Senators and Ministers of the Republick now here assembled, of which a Copy has been given to your Majesty's Ambassador. This may be sufficient to clear us from all sinister Interpretations, and to direct and dispose your Czarish Majesty to shew us more Respect for the future, that we may not have Reason to look upon such indecent Behaviour as hostile, and be forced to obviate it with the Assistance of our Friends in due Manner. For neither your Czarish Majesty, nor any body else, can blame us for endeavouring to maintain a good Friendship and mutual Benevolence, not only with the Emperor and the King of *Great Britain*, but with all the Powers of the World besides, for our and our Kingdom's Preservation, and the maintaining of its Laws and Liberties; that with their Help and Assistance, we may be in a Condition to resist all Attempts tending to the Introduction of Absolute Power and Hereditary Succession, or the Subversion of the Constitution of *Poland* in whatsoever Manner. The Person we have sent to *Constantinople*, does not negotiate any Thing relating to our publick Affairs, but is there to assist, with his Advice, the Merchants of our Dominions, and to buy several Goods of our Household; nor does he pretend to excite the *Ottoman Porte* against your Czarish Majesty, nor to spread any prejudicial Reports against you, unless, perhaps, he is asked, Whether your Czarish Majesty's Troops continue still in *Poland*? Then certainly it cannot be taken amiss, if he should relate how grievous this is to all the Orders of the Kingdom. Neither have the Senators and Ministers of State, in their late Conference held at *Warsaw* with the *Tartarian* Envoy, made any Proposals to him relating to an Invasion of your Czarish Majesty's



Majesty's Dominion; but when he, of his own Motion, and without being asked, offered in the Name of the *Cham of Crim Tartary*, to assist the Republick with ten thousand Men; against all who should threaten to invade it in a hostile Manner, he was answer'd, that we did not desire those Auxiliaries should enter our Territories; but that in case of inevitable Necessity, it would be more acceptable to us they should be employed to make a Diversion in the Enemy's Country: Yet nothing positive was concluded, nor was he charged with any Commission relating to that Affair when he return'd Home, except only in the said Case of Necessity, as your Czarish Majesty will find more at large explain'd in the Account given to Prince *Dolgoruki*, from our Chancery, relating to that Conference, and the Answer we return'd, by which your Czarish Majesty will be convinc'd, that we, on our Part, since the Beginning of our Reign, never did, nor will do for the future, either we ourselves, or by our Ministers, any Thing prejudicial to your Czarish Majesty, or contrary to our Friendship, founded upon Neighbourhood, and strengthen'd by Alliances, provided your Czarish Majesty will, on your Part, reciprocally fulfil all the Conditions expressed in the Conventions between us; and especially restore *Livonia* and *Courland*, two Provinces incorporate with the Republick of *Poland* from antient Times, nor intermeddle, under any Pretence, in the Affair of *Courland*; which Dutchy, after the Decease of the present Duke without Male Issue, is, by an undoubted Right, to return to the Body of the Kingdom of *Poland* and Great Dutchy of *Lithuania*; provided also your Czarish Majesty will withdraw your Troops out of all the Provinces of the Kingdom, especially out of *Courland*; give Satisfaction for the Injuries and Pretensions, both publick and private, so often represented by our Ministers; pay the many Millions stipulated by Treaties, but unpaid yet, and restore what has been extorted by your Majesty's Forces from the City of *Dantzick*, and the Territories of the Republick, contrary to Treaties; forbear exciting Misunderstandings and Differences between us and the States of the Republick, and promote the Liberty and Safety of the Republick,



publick, not with smooth Words and fair Promises, but in reality, as we do, and are desirous to do; nor give Credit to, or disseminate Rumours, apt to raise intestine Commotions, as if we ever had had a Mind to establish an Hereditary Succession in the Kingdom of *Poland*, or to do any Thing contrary to the Welfare of the Republick; your Czarish Majesty knowing well enough, by your own Experience, that we always abhorred those Projects, when they were traitorously suggested to us, and will ever abhor them. As we always preserve a thankful Remembrance of the Good-will your Czarish Majesty has shewn to us, so we can hardly suppose the Affection we have on all Occasions expressed towards you, will ever escape your Czarish Majesty's Memory. As for the several Treaties alledged by your Majesty, we are entirely persuaded we have religiously performed them in every Article, nor ever refused or neglected to perform all that is expressed in the said Treaties; tho' your Majesty was pleased to conceal from us what you were negotiating and concluding in *France*, notwithstanding which, you desired us blindfoldly to approve and subscribe the Articles of that Treaty without having seen and examined them, which we absolutely refused. We were also unacquainted with the Negotiation in the Island of *Aland*, of which we had no other Notice, than that a certain Treaty was negotiating there. Concerning your Czarish Majesty's Pretensions on the City of *Dantzick*, we have already given so many Answers upon that Head, that we must refer to them, adding only, that we do not know that either we, or the Senators then present at *Dantzick*, or our Ministers of State, have given any Consent to the said City's fitting out the Privateers demanded of them, nor could we enjoin or prohibit the same to the said City.

To conclude: As we expect your Czarish Majesty will act for the future in a more agreeable Manner in Matters relating to our common Concerns, and forbear whatever may be bitter and grating; so we wish nothing more, than that by so indecent a Treatment, and by Affronts for which no Satisfaction is made, we may not be forced against our Will to employ proper Means  
for

for our Self-defence, and the Security of the Dominions God has committed to our Care. On the contrary, if the Conditions mentioned above be observed, nothing shall be dearer or more acceptable to us, than a sincere Union, and constant Friendship with your Czarish Majesty, as you may surely depend on ours; for through the Happiness of the Times, and the Assistance of our Friends, we have now attained to that Strength, as to be able timely and courageously to oppose all Insults, with which ill-minded Persons may threaten us, &c.

*Warsaw, the 14<sup>th</sup> of  
March, 1719.*

When M. Osterman returned to *Aland*, in the Month of *April*, it was less to negotiate than menace the *Swedes*; for his Czarish Majesty had ordered him to declare, *That unless they accepted, in two Months Time, of the Conditions proposed, they must expect a Visit from forty thousand Plenipotentiaries, who would force them to it with Sword in Hand.*

But the Death of the King of *Sweden*, whose ambitious Valour had given too much Umbrage to his Neighbours, had changed the Dispositions of all *Europe* with regard to that desolated Kingdom: The Protestant Powers especially deliberated, whether it could be for their Interest to suffer the Czar entirely to over-run it, and tear from it its best Provinces. The King of *Great-Britain* had concluded with *France* the famous *Quadruple Alliance*, in which it was stipulated, that the Enemy of any one of the contracting Powers should be deemed so to all the rest; for which Reason *France* took Pains to reconcile *Sweden* with the King of *Great-Britain*, and succeeded in her Design; and his *Britannick* Majesty going this Summer to *Hanover*, nominated the Lord *Carteret*, in the Month of *May*, to be his Ambassador at the Court of *Sweden*, whither Colonel *Bassewitz* went before, being charged with the Affairs of that Electorate.

On the 6<sup>th</sup> of *May* his Czarish Majesty lost his only surviving Son, Prince *Peter Petrowitz*, who died in the fifth Year of his Age, to the great Grief of his Father.

He had been declared Hereditary Prince of *Muscovy* immediately upon the solemn Renunciation made by the late Czarewitz *Alexis*.

But to return to *Sweden*: His Excellency the Lord *Carteret* arrived at *Gottenburg* the 18<sup>th</sup> of *June*, and a few Days after at *Stockholm*. His first Care being to remove the Difficulties relating to the Commerce and Navigation of the *British* Subjects in the *Baltick*, he presented the following Memorial to the Queen of *Sweden*.

To the Queen of *Sweden*, &c.

*The Memorial of his Excellency the Lord Carteret, Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the King of Great-Britain.*

“ **T**HE under-written Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the King of *Great-Britain*, being firmly persuaded of the Equity of her Majesty the Queen of *Sweden*, and of her Good-will towards the *British* Nation, as also of her Inclinations to maintain perfect Intelligence with his Majesty the King of *Great-Britain*, most humbly represents to her said Majesty, the Queen of *Sweden*, pursuant to the Orders he has received, the great Losses which the Subjects of his *Britannick* Majesty have suffered for some Years past, by the taking and Confiscations of many of their Ships by her Majesty's Subjects, in the *Baltick* and other Parts, even in the Ports of *Sweden*, and by the Prohibition of Navigation in *Livonia*; and intreats her said Majesty, the Queen of *Sweden*, with all due Submission, to be pleased to give her Orders, that without more Delay, the Losses of the said Subjects may be examined, and Satisfaction made them thereupon; and in particular, that the above-mentioned Prohibition of Navigation be taken off, as having been the Occasion of so great Damages, and exposed the Commerce in the *Baltick* to so many Difficulties on all Accounts; which is so prejudicial to this Kingdom, and to her Subjects, and may afford the Czar, and perhaps also other Powers, Pretences not only for opposing the Freedom of Navigation and Commerce in

in the *Baltick*, but even for interrupting it intirely, to the great Prejudice of *Sweden*.

And as the abovesaid Minister Plenipotentiary has great Reason to believe, that her Majesty the Queen of *Sweden* will be pleased, on this Occasion, to add to the Instances she daily gives of an equitable Mind, a Proof of her Disposition (by granting what he desires) to re-establish not only the antient Friendship between the two Crowns, but to maintain and improve it; so he is commanded to assure her on the Part of his *Britanick* Majesty, of his good Intentions to cause Justice to be done on all Occasions to the Subjects of *Sweden*, and to do all that may contribute to the strengthening of the Bonds of strict Friendship between the two Crowns, and promoting the Commerce of the two Nations. At *Stockholm*, the 6th of July, O. S. 1719.

Her Sacred Royal Majesty's Answer to the Memorial presented by his Excellency the Lord Carteret, Minister Plenipotentiary of his Sacred Royal Majesty the King of Great-Britain. Given at the Palace of Carlsberg, the 6th of July, 1719.

HER Sacred Royal Majesty was pleased to cause to be laid before her, what his Excellency, in his abovesaid Memorial, has represented at large, in the Name of his Sacred Royal Majesty, the King of Great-Britain, touching the great Losses which his Subjects have suffered for some Years past, not only by the intercepting in *Sweden* of many of their Ships, but likewise by the Prohibition of free Commerce with the Ports of *Sweden* possessed by the Czar; his Excellency's Desire thereupon, that her Sacred Royal Majesty would be pleased to give her necessary Orders, that without further Delay, Enquiry may be made, and an Account taken, of the Damages which the said Subjects have sustained, and that just Satisfaction may be made them; and especially that the Prohibition of free Navigation to the said Ports taken by the Czar, from her said Royal Majesty and her Kingdom, may be repealed and annull'd; also his Excellency's Declaration of his Sacred Royal Majesty of Great-Britain's Disposition, to cause the Sub-



jects and Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Sweden* to be treated, on all Occasions, according to Equity and Justice, to unite the two Kingdoms by the firmest Bands of Friendship, and to promote Commerce between them.

These very friendly Proposals were extremely acceptable to her Sacred Royal Majesty; and as she has nothing more at Heart, than that the antient Friendship which for so many Ages has happily flourished between the two Crowns of *Sweden* and *Great-Britain*, may remain firmly established for ever, and be continually increased, her Sacred Royal Majesty willingly consents to nominate and constitute, as soon as an exact Account shall be given in of the *British* Ships illegally detained in *Sweden*, and of the Damages thereby sustained, certain Commissioners, who, with those whom his Sacred Royal Majesty of *Great-Britain* shall appoint with like Powers, shall carefully examine this Affair, shall do Justice to every Person concerned, and adjudge equitable Compensation to the rightful Claimants.

As for the desired Freedom of Commerce and Navigation, her Sacred Royal Majesty might, upon very good Reasons, not so readily grant it, if she would insist upon her own Right, justified by the Examples of many Nations, and founded upon the Rules of War, every where received: However, to give the greatest Proof to his Sacred Royal Majesty of *Great-Britain*, and to the illustrious *British* Nation, of the high Esteem which her Sacred Royal Majesty has for the Person and Friendship of the King, and of the Good-will she bears to his People, she is pleased hereby to grant the desired Freedom of Commerce and Navigation in the *Baltick* and especially to those Places and Ports which have been taken there, from her Majesty, by the Czar of *Muscovy* in the present War, and will give the necessary Orders that the Ships of the Inhabitants of *Great-Britain* bound to the said Ports, be not any more molested in their Voyage; her Sacred Royal Majesty assuredly trusting that his Sacred Royal Majesty of *Great-Britain* will not permit any of his Subjects to abuse the Liberty of Commerce thus granted to them, to the Detriment of the Kingdom of *Sweden*.



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For the rest, her Sacred Royal Majesty will most gladly take all Opportunities to give new Proofs of her Friendship for his Sacred Royal Majesty of *Great-Britain*, and will always continue to treat his Excellency, the Lord Minister Plenipotentiary, with all Royal Favour and Good-will."

Having first adjusted the Affairs of Commerce and Navigation, the Ministers of the King of *Great-Britain*, with those of *Sweden*, entered into a double Treaty, the first containing a Renovation of the Alliance between *Great-Britain* and *Sweden*, and the other between her *Swedish* Majesty and the Elector of *Hanover*. By these Treaties *Bremen* and *Verden* were to remain with the King of *Great-Britain*, for a Million of Crowns to be paid upon the Ratification of them; and in case the War should continue in the North, his *Britannick* Majesty obliged himself not only to pay an annual Subsidy of three hundred thousand Crowns to *Sweden*, but to act with his Force against the Czar, and to procure for *Sweden* the Restitution of her Provinces, and of his States to the Duke of *Holstein*. A short Time after the King of *Prussia*, by the Example of *England*, and for the Cession of *Stetin* and its Districts, made a Treaty with the Queen of *Sweden*, very much the same with that of the King of *Great-Britain*, engaging himself as soon as possible to procure the Peace of the North.

His Czarish Majesty, before he was thoroughly acquainted with these Negotiations, rightly considering how great a Check the Maritime Powers might be to his Designs, endeavoured to keep fair with them, by communicating the following Declaration to their Ministers.

**W**E, *Peter I.* by the Grace of God, Czar and absolute Monarch of all *Russia*, &c. do by these Presents make known, that notwithstanding by our Declaration of the 17th of *April* 1719, which we sent to all our Ministers residing in foreign Courts, to be there made publick, we have declared to all the Powers, and particularly to *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, that

we were willing to grant free Commerce to all the Ports and Dominions of the Crown of *Sweden*, upon the same and such like Conditions as that Crown should grant for our Ports and Dominions; we had hoped, that the said Crown, having more need of it at this present Juncture than we, would willingly have consented to the same; but we had found, contrary to all Expectation, that according to its usual Practice, that Crown had shewed little Regard to it; having granted the same to none but the Subjects of the Lords the *States-General*, for a very short Term, and, according to the Advice we have received, upon hard Conditions, which tend to the producing tedious Consequences: And as for *England*, it has not granted to it any Freedom of Commerce, nor to the other Powers concerned. For this Reason we have thought fit, as well to make the World sensible of our Moderation, as particularly of the Affection we bear to the two Nations of *Great-Britain* and the *United Provinces*, and notwithstanding the Obstinacy and Artifices of the *Swedes*, to grant to the aforesaid two Nations, and to all their Ships, entire Liberty of Commerce in all Places and Ports of the Crown of *Sweden*; provided that the aforesaid Ships be furnished by the two aforesaid Powers, with Passes and Certificates in due Form, according to the marine Regulations. It is moreover permitted them to carry thither all Sorts of Goods that are not contraband, and that are not of the Number of those here-under specified. In Pursuance whereof, we have sent our Orders to our High-Admiral, and to the other Admirals and Commanders of the Men of War, Frigates, and Privateers, for them, when they have examined and found their Passes, Certificates, and other Documents, free from Errors, and agreeable to the Marine Regulations, to permit them to pass freely, and without detaining, much less taking them. But if those Ships are laden with contraband Goods, or do carry false Certificates, otherwise called *Lorrendrager*, (*that is, trading privately by stealth*) we have ordered them to be taken and brought into our Ports, and to be declared lawful Prize, according to the Meaning of the Laws; the which none can have Reason to put a wrong Construction

struction upon, since, according to the Law of Nations, we cannot grant Licence to furnish our Enemies with those Things which afford them the Means to prolong the War against us: We hope therefore, that the aforesaid Maritime Powers, having received so manifest a Demonstration of our Affection towards them and their Subjects, will endeavour reciprocally to make Returns, by taking such Measures as might be equally friendly; and that they will direct their Subjects to conform themselves to this present Declaration in their Commerce and Navigation, to the End that they may not come to any Damage, through Neglect and Want of Circumspection; which in such Case they can impute to none but themselves. In Testimony whereof, this present Declaration hath been put out in our Navy, on board the Ship *Ingermanland*, at *Argout*, signed with our Hand, and sealed with our Great Seal, the 28<sup>th</sup> of June 1719.

*A List of Goods and Effects which are reputed contraband.*

Powder, Lead, Saltpetre, Brimstone, Hemp, and all Naval Stores; all Sorts of Grain-Salt.

*Signed* PETER,  
*And underneath, Count Golofkin.*

*Documents required by his Czarish Majesty's Declaration, with which the Ships belonging to the Subjects of Great-Britain, and those of the United Provinces, to whom his Majesty grants free Commerce in Sweden, are to be furnished.*

1. **A** Certificate or Attestation in Writing of the Place where the Ship was built.
2. A Bill of Sale, expressing where and of whom the Ship was bought, and to whom it belongs.
3. A Letter for the Master from the Magistrate of the Place from whence he comes, or where he resides, in the Service of what Power he is, and of what Prince's Subjects he and his Master are.

4. An Attestation from the Magistrate of the Place, that the Owners or Freighters, and those who have put their Goods aboard the Ships, have deposed upon Oath, that both the Ships and the Goods belong to them, and that there is nothing belongs to the Enemy, nor to any other Power besides that whose Subjects they are.

5. *Certe Partie*, is a Letter by which the Master hath been engaged, and the Vessel freighted, the Place it is bound to, and what Goods it is to be laden with, with other usual Documents.

6. An authentick Pass, signed by the Power whose Subjects he and his Men are.

7. Those who shall happen to come from the North Sea, shall also be furnished with the Pass of the *Sound*, according to the usual Custom.

8. The Crew is also to consist of at least two thirds of national Seamen.

On the 3<sup>d</sup> of *July*, the *Englisch* Admiral, Sir *John Norris*, arrived with his Squadron of Men of War in the Road of *Copenhagen*, which very little pleased his Czarish Majesty, who before, at his first coming into the *Baltick*, had wrote the following Letter, dated on board the *Ingermanland* Man of War, of the *Muscovite* Fleet, *June* the 7<sup>th</sup>, 1719, O. S.

MR. ADMIRAL,

“WE have received Advice from *England* and other Places, that his Majesty, the King of *Great-Britain*, has sent you with a Squadron of Men of War into the *Baltick*, to execute some Commission. Nevertheless, though we are in Alliance with his *Britannick* Majesty, as Elector of *Brunswick*, in Relation to the present Northern War, and that we are therein joined in one common Interest, they have been so far from concerting with us the Operations of this Campaign against the common Enemy, that they have not so much as given us the least Intimation of the sending this Squadron. You know yourself, Sir, that it was never omitted for the Time past to give us Notice upon the like Occasions; and this Innovation administering to us Cause of Suspicion,

cion, we have thought it requisite, for preventing all the dangerous Consequences that might ensue, to write to you by the Bearer of this Letter, and in Friendship to require of you, that before you draw near to our Fleet, and to our Dominions, you declare to us in Writing upon what Design you have been sent into these Seas with your Squadron ; what has been given you in Commission ; and particularly whether it is not to commit some Hostility against us, our Fleet, or the Places that are under our Dominion ; and finally, whether you have Orders to act towards us as a Friend, or otherwise.

We cannot, at the same Time, forbear declaring to you, that unless you give a positive Answer in Writing to all these Points, and a Declaration, with such Assurances as are proper ; and that if you draw near to our Fleet, with your Squadron, or to the Countries or Places under our Dominion, without giving us your Declaration, we shall think ourselves obliged to look upon your Silence as an Indication of some ill Intentions, and to believe that you are intrusted with a dangerous Design against us, our Fleet, and our Dominions ; and we shall be obliged to take such Measures against the same, for our Safety, as shall be convenient, according to the Right of War. On the other Hand, we here declare, and solemnly protest on our Word, that on our Part we neither have had, nor have any ill Intention against his *Britannick* Majesty, and against the Crown of *Great-Britain*, nor against any other Power ; and that our Design is no other, than to put in Execution the warlike Operations we have projected against *Sweden*, barely to oblige the same to consent to a reasonable Peace. We beseech God, Mr. Admiral, to take you into his holy and worthy Protection, &c.

*Signed* PETER.



*Admiral Norris's Answer, dated at Copenhagen  
July 11, 1719.*

S I R,

I Have had the Honour to receive your Majesty's Letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> of *June*, wherein your Majesty hath been pleased to take notice, that you had no Intimation that I had Orders to come into these Seas with a Squadron of the King my Master's Men of War, to protect the Commerce of his Subjects, and to strengthen the good Intelligence with his Allies.

Before my Departure from *England*, I spoke with M. *Wesselowski*, your Majesty's Minister at our Court, about the Occasion of my being sent into these Parts; and I told him, that I hoped that the good Harmony between our Masters would be preserved.

I therefore take the Liberty, with the most profound Respect I am able, to confess to your Majesty how much I am surprized at the Umbrage your Majesty expresses in your Letter, that some Difference might happen between your Majesty and my august Master.

I immediately sent your Majesty's Letter to the King my Master, as also that which the Great Chancellor writ to me; and if your Majesty will send any one to the King my Master, your Majesty will be satisfied with the good Intentions his Majesty has to continue the antient good Amity between the two Monarchies.

May it please your Majesty to give me leave to express to you how profoundly I acknowledge the Honour I have received from your Majesty, and to assure you of the profound Submission and Obedience, with which I am, &c.

JOHN NORRIS.

The Czar thus saw himself not only abandoned by his Allies, but those Allies go over to his Enemy. As soon as he perceived this Change of Affairs, he went about executing the Descent with which he had threatened *Sweden*. And to oblige them to hearken to Propositions of Peace, and to give, at the same Time, the Publick

Publick an Account of the Motives to this Expedition, which could not but prove very bloody, he published the following Manifesto from on Board his Fleet.

“ **W**E *Peter I. &c.* do hereby make known to all, and particularly to the High and Low Estates, as well Secular as Ecclesiastick, of the Kingdom of *Sweden*: As it is generally notorious how long this bloody War has lasted between the two Crowns of *Russia* and *Sweden*, we have certain Information, that not only during the Time of his Royal Majesty *Charles XII.* of Glorious Memory, but also in the Reign of her present Royal Majesty, it has been insinuated as a Thing certain to the Subjects of *Sweden*; That our implacable Temper was the only Cause of the Continuance of this long War; That we never shewed the least Inclination to Peace, nor would consider the Propositions made on the Part of *Sweden*; and that our sole Design was entirely to overthrow and conquer that Kingdom, or at least to possess ourselves of some more of its 'Provinces. We think ourselves obliged by our Manifesto to wipe off these groundless Accusations both as to the Time past and present, and on the contrary, to shew all the World our Innocence, the Justice of our Cause, and our Inclinations to Peace; and tho' we design not to enlarge upon all the Reasons which gave Rise to this War, yet we have judged it absolutely necessary to mention them as succinctly as possible, and to demonstrate, that tho' we had Causes sufficient for a Rupture, in Consideration of the great Number of Injuries done by *Sweden* to our Crown; and that in the last Century the *Swedes*, contrary to Alliances and Treaties, did rob us of several Countries and Provinces that always belonged to our Crown; yet we never designed to begin a War on that Account, if we had not been obliged to it by a new Affront to us in Person, and by the crafty Designs formed against our Life, by the Governor General the Count *de Dalberg*, when we passed through the City of *Riga* with our Embassy designed to foreign Courts, especially since after having demanded just Satisfaction, as well by the Ambassadors then residing at our Court, as by other

Potentates, we could obtain none ; and that moreover, on the contrary, the Court of *Sweden* had formed a very insolent Resolution, which was insinuated to us by the *Sieur Knipercrona*, Resident of *Sweden* at our Court, containing a Refusal of our Demands, as if our Accusations were unjust, notwithstanding the Proofs we ourselves had given of them to the Ambassadors of *Sweden*, both by Word of Mouth and Writing, that they might represent them to his *Swedish* Majesty ; and tho' the War was afterwards commenced to revenge the Injury done us, we did both in our Prosperity and Adversity, and even till now, always signify our Desire of Peace with the Crown of *Sweden*, and did sufficiently shew our Moderation by the Proposals we made, according to the Conjunction of Time ; but till last Year it was impossible for us to obtain any Negotiation, and much less a Peace, because his *Swedish* Majesty had no Inclination to it ; and while we staid in *Holland*, we were informed of his Majesty's peaceful Intentions by several of his Ministers ; first by Secretary *Preys*, afterwards by General *Welling*, and at last by Baron *Gortz*, who proposed the Isle of *Aland* to us as the Place of Congress ; we immediately consented to it, and did thereunto also dispose our faithful Ally the King of *Prussia*, and though we did invite our other Allies, we could not persuade them to send their Ministers to the said Negotiations, because they were not inclined to it.

Notwithstanding all this, in the Beginning of 1718, we sent our Ministers to the said Congress, who treated with his *Swedish* Majesty's Plenipotentiaries (and continued so to do till his Death) where we granted such advantageous Conditions to the Crown of *Sweden*, as, notwithstanding his Majesty's known Inclinations for War, made such an Impression upon him, that we should undoubtedly, in a little Time, have concluded a solemn Peace on both Sides, and likewise a more strict Alliance betwixt the two Crowns, had the Conferences continued some Weeks longer, and not been interrupted by the fatal Death of his *Swedish* Majesty. Farther, to set our sincere Intentions for a Peace in a clearer Light, though we had agreed to no Cessation of Arms with his *Swedish* Majesty,

Majesty, and by Consequence were at Liberty to carry on the War ; and though we were in a Condition last Summer to embark with an Army of thirty thousand Men, and to land in the Heart of *Sweden*, and perhaps to enter as far as the Capital, for which we had the fairest Occasion, being informed that the *Swedes* had made no Preparations, either by Land or Sea, to resist us, we could not however think of it, for this Reason only, that we might not give the *Swedish* Nation an Occasion to suspect, that under Colour of a Negotiation for Peace, we designed the Ruin of that Kingdom ; for it was our sincere Intention, not only to establish a lasting Peace and Amity with that Nation, but also to procure them perpetual Advantages in Commerce, equal to those of our own Nation. And though we had very particular Advice both of the Death of his *Swedish* Majesty, and the Disorders which happened during the Election of her present Majesty ; as also of the Loss which the *Swedish* Troops suffered in their Retreat from *Norway* ; and tho' we also very well knew that *Sweden* had not taken the least Precaution to hinder an Invasion by our Army ; besides that, during the Winter, the Ice was so strong betwixt *Sweden* and *Finland*, that we could have safely marched over our Army and Artillery ; and that farther, our Troops, with Artillery, Provision, and Ammunition, were ready at *Abo* for that End ; we not only forbore it for the Reasons above-mentioned, but also gave express Orders to our Troops to undertake nothing, except two or three small Parties that were detached to view the inward State of that Kingdom, in firm Expectation that the new Regency of *Sweden*, and all good Patriots of that Kingdom, would employ their utmost Endeavours to advance the Safety and Prosperity of their Country, by renewing the Negotiations, and concluding a speedy Peace : Therefore we gave Assurances, by our Ministers at *Aland*, of our constant Inclination for Peace, both to Count *Gyllembourg*, the *Swedish* Plenipotentiary to her present Majesty, and the States of the Kingdom, before the Death of the King, and her Accession to the Throne were notified to us ; upon which that Minister gave us the like Assurance by Word of Mouth, as her Majesty



Majesty did in Writing, and that Baron *Lilliensted* should be sent to the Congress as her first Plenipotentiary in the Place of Baron *Gortz*; and Count *Gyllembourg* assured us, that the said Plenipotentiary would come without fail to *Aland* by the Beginning of *April*, to renew the Conferences, and conclude the Peace. We had the less Reason to doubt it, since notwithstanding the great Inclination which the late King of *Sweden*, of ever glorious Memory, had always for War, most of the Conditions betwixt us were actually agreed on in his Life-time; so that, considering our Success, and the State of Affairs at that Time, the Kingdom of *Sweden* would have obtained great Advantages, since that Crown might not only have thereby recovered several Countries and Towns, but have also obtained other considerable Advantages; but though we staid till *June* without undertaking the least Hostilities, those Assurances on the Part of *Sweden* were not made good, nor could we expect the said Minister would be sent to *Aland*; for Count *Gyllembourg* presented, by Order of her Majesty, a Declaration in Writing to our Ministers, by which it appeared sufficiently, that the Crown of *Sweden* had no Inclinations to Peace, but rather to continue the War, since she had demanded of us the Restoration of almost all the Provinces which we had conquered from her during this War, without any previous Negotiation; and, on the contrary, not only refused to send a Minister to *Aland*, but threatened us with breaking off the Congress, and prolonging the War; and also made several frivolous Pretexs against admitting the Minister whom our faithful Ally, the King of *Prussia*, had deputed to the Congress, notwithstanding he was sent thither under the Assurances of his late Majesty of *Sweden*, of ever glorious Memory. Besides, the *Swedes* have entered into particular Negotiations with other Powers, from whom they can fear no Danger in Time of War, nor expect Profit in Time of Peace, to the Exclusion of us, and also with Threats to take all sorts of dangerous Measures against us; and she still endeavours to amuse us, by prolonging the Congress at *Aland*, without any Negotiations. Upon the whole; as we perceive



ceive all the Designs of *Sweden*, we find ourselves obliged, after invoking the Divine Assistance, to have Recourse to Arms, and to order our Troops to invade *Sweden*, not with a View to conquer or take any more of her Dominions, but only to obtain the desired Peace, which we wish for on the same Conditions as before, and demand nothing further of the Crown of *Sweden*, but are rather more willing to yield some of those Conquests already in our Hands ; Therefore, we declare, that in case the Crown of *Sweden* shew no Inclination to a Peace with us, we shall then be obliged to undertake and continue, with God's Assistance, the most vigorous War, even in the Heart of the Kingdom : And also in this Case, we protest, before God and all the World, against all the Calamities that may thereby happen to the Subjects of the said Kingdom, and especially against the innocent Blood which may be shed after the Publication of this our sincere Design ; and to this we take the Almighty to Witness, and charge it upon those who, by Passion or Self-Interest, have endeavoured to hinder the Conclusion of a Peace betwixt us. We hope then that the Great God will continue to support our Arms in this Enterprize, as he has done formerly ; and we have ordered that this Manifesto be published and made known to all the Subjects of that Crown, that they may take salutary Methods and Councils to ward off their impending Ruin, which cannot be avoided but by their concluding a Peace with us. In the mean Time, as on our Part we have always been ready, so we are still, to conclude a Peace as above, on reasonable Conditions, and in that Case immediately to cease all Hostilities.

*Given on Board our Fleet, in the Month of  
July, 1719.*

The Queen of *Sweden* was no sooner informed of the Reasons for publishing this Writing, than she answered it by a Counter-Manifesto ; wherein she endeavoured to shew, that what his Czarish Majesty had set forth and dispersed over the Kingdom of *Sweden*, at the same Time

Time that his Troops were putting all to Fire and Sword on the Coasts of that Kingdom, had no other View in it than to attribute the War, and those Obstacles which prevented a solid Peace, to Causes that were nothing less than real; her Majesty not doubting but her Subjects would very easily see through the Artifice of that Writing, which came from her avowed Enemy to make false Impressions on them, and breed Diffidence and Discord; and persuaded herself, that they were convinced of her Dispositions to procure Repose and Safety to her Kingdom by a good Peace; but that what had hitherto prevented it, was that, by the Conditions offered to her, which were called advantageous, the Czar was for reserving to himself all that he had taken from *Sweden*, except *Finland*, and upon that Footing to enter into Friendship with her; although it was he himself who had first undertaken the War, contrary to the Faith of Treaties and his Word given, and had continued it all along with the utmost Severity; having burnt and plundered many Places, even while the Negotiations of Peace were going on, as well before as after the Arrival of the Plenipotentiary *Osterman*, to depress the Courage of her Majesty's Subjects, to prescribe Laws to her, and to oblige her to submit to them. Her Majesty left her Subjects to judge what they were to expect from the Proximity of such a Neighbour, who was in a Condition to penetrate even into the Heart of the Kingdom with his furious Arms; and if it would not be more honourable for them, as brave Patriots, to follow the Steps of their valiant Ancestors, than suffer themselves to be amused by the vain Promises of their Enemies, and draw upon themselves a Yoke, which, in the End, would prove more insupportable than Death itself.

It was high Time, indeed, to think of opposing the *Russians*, who had already ruined several Maritime Places in *Sweden*; their Expedition being conducted in the following Manner: Admiral *Apraxin* having held a Council of War at the Island of *Capel*, took his Course, in Pursuance thereof, towards the *Daelder Isles*, making by the Way several considerable Persons Prisoners;

ners ; and upon Intelligence he received from divers Parts, he judged it would be most for the Czar's Service for him to leave *Stockholm* upon his Left, and to return to the chief Copper-Mines, which he ruined, and burnt the Woods on that Side, together with several Gentlemen's Seats. Captain *Sinarwin*, who had been cruising with nine Men of War off *Stockholm*, reported, upon his rejoining the Fleet, that he saw continual Fires in all the Islands upon that Coast ; and that having set some Men on Shore in them, the Peasants run away, leaving such Plenty of Cattle, that they had distributed seven hundred Oxen, and Calves among twenty Galleys, and in that Proportion ; but that there was in all Places a great Scarcity of Bread, the Country-People having little other Nourishment than Fish and Milk, their Bread being made chiefly of Roots and Greens, with very little Meal. The Admiral arrived with his Fleet in very good Condition at *Landfort* on the 19<sup>th</sup> of *July*, having taken upon his Rout two Ships laden with Corn, and bound to *Stockholm* from *Koningsberg* ; that he was resolved to go the next Day to *South-Telle*, and that, in the mean Time, he had detached fifty *Cossacks* of the Cavalry, who advanced within a League and a half of *Stockholm*, defeated an Out-Guard of *Swedes*, and brought back with them a Corporal of the Guards, who had the Title of Major, and eight of his Men.

As all this was but the Prelude to the general Descent intended by the *Russians*, the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse-Cassel* went to *Waxholm* with Count *Ducker*, afterwards made Field-Marshal General, to give necessary Orders : They perceived from the Coast of *Suyder-Arm* some *Russian* Gallies, detached from the Fleet to examine the Entrance of the *Scheeren*. They learnt also, by the Report of a Defenter, that the Czar had above forty thousand Men aboard, that were designed to make an Invasion in the Kingdom. His Royal Highness therefore departed for *Tuna*, where the Army was formed, consisting of fourteen thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse. Three Days after, they had Advice that a great Number of *Russian* Gallies were seen on the Coast  
of

of *Romansen*, above *Noorder-Telge*. The Night following the Regiment of Foot-Guards marched towards *Stockholm*, and were followed by some others that were to encamp at *Stok-Sund*, about half a League from that Capital. The next Day, in the Afternoon, News was brought that the *Russians*, having landed some of their People in the Island, had carried away the Cattle, burnt the Lord's House, and that they had done the same at *Griven-Haven*. Soon after they were perceived near *Oster-Kamingen*, within three Leagues of *Stockholm*, having burnt *Duirsko*, the Country-Seat of M. *Hopken*, Secretary of State. Upon which a Detachment was sent on that Side to prevent their penetrating any farther; but the *Russians* continued to ravage the Country, and burn the Houses along the *Scheeren*: They divided their Gallies into three Squadrons; one of which went between *Noord* and *Suder-Telge*, another to the Coast of *Geefse*, and the third towards *Nikoping*. On the 27<sup>th</sup> of the same Month of *July*, a Detachment of *Cossacks* and of Cavalry landed at *Sandmar*, and advanced as far as *Westerbaning*, four Leagues from *Stockholm*, where, meeting with twelve *Swedish* Troopers, who had been sent out to *reconnoitre*, they put them to Flight, and killed their Captain. Another Party going on Shore, burnt *Bo*, with the fine House of Count *Tessin*, within two Leagues of the Capital. The Prince of *Hesse* coming thither with some Troops from the Camp at *Tuna*, the *Russians* were obliged to retire: His Royal Highness returning into the City at Night, it very much recovered the Spirits of the Inhabitants, who were extremely alarmed to see the Enemy so near their Walls. The Prince went the next Day to *Carelsberg* to the Queen his Spouse, to give an Account of what passed. It was known at the same Time, that Admiral *Norris* was arrived in the Road of *Copenhagen* with a large Squadron of *English* Vessels, from whence the *Swedes* had Hopes of a favourable Diversion.

In the mean Time, the *Russian* Fleet advanced on the 28<sup>th</sup> as far as the Mouth of the River of *Stockholm*, with a Design to surprize nineteen Barks loaded with Provisions for the City: They took five, but the rest escaped under

under the Cannon of Fort *Dalero*. The 29<sup>th</sup> they burnt *Vagelbro*, *Malmoe*, *Sab*, *Sand*, *Wassy*, *Bratelund*, *Furstabolm*, and *Herembro*, besides several Churches and Houses, the Inhabitants of which, and among them many Ecclesiasticks, saved themselves in the Capital. On the 30<sup>th</sup> his Royal Highness the Prince of *Hesse-Cassel* caused his Army to advance towards the Sea, and took up his Quarters at *Jours-Holm*, about a League and a half from the City. The *Russians* sent towards the North, and burnt several Towns and Villages, and among the rest the whole Island of *Soderoen*, and all the Parish of *Boertilles*, with all the Works that depended upon it; the Towns of *Ostkammer* and *Oregrund*, and the Parish of *Hokoywud*. As it was in those Places that the most considerable Iron Mines of the Kingdom lay, the Ruin of them was almost an irreparable Loss to the *Swedes*: They did not spare even the Lands of *Thorao*, belonging to M. *Rumpf*, the Resident of the States General of the United Provinces. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of *August* two thousand *Russians* landed at *Osterwick*, near the *Suder-Telge*, and obliged a small Detachment of *Swedish* Troops to retire, with the Loss of three or four Men. The Enemy thought the *Russians* had a Design to land all their Forces at that Place; but they only set Fire to the Town of *Suder-Telge*, of which one half was reduced to Ashes, and at the Approach of a Regiment of Horse, that was sent to attack them, they retired to their Gallies. On the 2<sup>d</sup> the *Russians* burnt several other Towns and Houses about *Suder-Telge*, and endeavoured especially to set Fire to the Woods to ruin the Mine-Works. Some of the *Russian* Troops that had landed near *Tosa*, were repulsed, and several of their Men taken Prisoners. Others went into *Ostrogothia*, where they did irreparable Damage.

On the Northern Coast they burnt *Furstenar* and *Ortula*, where there were Mines of great Consequence. In the Night between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> they took a little Fort near *Nikoping*, defended only by thirty Men: They afterwards burnt the Town, that was well peopled, and carried on a considerable Trade. Five thousand *Russians*, a little after, seized on *Lofsta*, which was a Mine from



from whence the best Iron in the whole Kingdom was taken : They carried thirteen thousand Tons of it on Board their Gallies, and afterwards ruined the Works. The Inhabitants of *Norkoping* understanding how the Town of *Nikoping* had been used, chose to set Fire themselves to their own Town, after they had drawn out their best Effects, to hinder the *Russians* from making any Advantage of the rest.

It would be difficult to enter into an exact Detail of all the Executions of the *Russian* Troops at this Time ; but we must content ourselves with the Accounts published at *Petersburgh* by Order of the Czar, to eternize the Memory of them. According to the Calculations made there, Admiral *Apraxin*, for his Part, had burnt and destroyed six good Towns, eleven Castles or Palaces of Brick, one hundred and nine of Wood, belonging to Noblemen, eight hundred twenty-six Villages and Hamlets, three Mills and ten Magazines, two Mines of Copper, five of Iron, &c.

Major-General *Lesly*, on his Part, had reduced to Ashes two Towns, twenty-one Castles or Noblemens Houses, five hundred and thirty-five Villages and Hamlets, forty Mills, sixteen Magazines, and nine Mines of Iron, for one of which, it was said, the *Swedes* had offered three hundred thousand Rix Dollars, to save it from Ruin. They destroyed the Corn and Forage, and killed all the Cattle and Horses that they could not carry off with them. They put on Board their Vessels all the Iron they were able, and the rest, to the number of eighty thousand Bars, they threw into the Sea.

The Design of the Czar, in all these Burnings and Devastations, was to bring the Court of *Sweden*, as before observed, to accept of such Conditions as he was willing to impose upon it. To which Purpose, he sent Counsellor *Osterman* thither, charged with a Commission to make the hardest Propositions. It was not judged proper to admit him into *Stockholm*, before they were informed with the Contents of his Instructions. He stopt about half a League from the City, whither the Court of *Sweden* having sent some Ministers to him, they

they found that, agreeable to the Project of Peace of *Aland*, he demanded nothing less than the absolute Cession of *Esthonia*, *Ingria*, and of *Carelia*, comprising the Towns of *Revel*, *Wybourgh*, *Narva*, and *Kecksholm*, and the Cession of *Livonia* for forty Years, the Czar being willing, for the present, to restore only *Finland*.

These Propositions were rejected with Scorn; the Congress of *Aland* broke up, the Ministers retired, and the *English* Squadron, which, till then, had remained in the Road of *Copenhagen*, sailed towards the Ports of *Sweden*; but found that the *Russians* had retired to their own Harbours eight Days before.

The *Russians* were highly displeased that a Report had been spread Abroad, that their Fleet retired upon Advice of the Conjunction of the *British* and *Swedish* Fleets; and therefore published, in several Parts of *Europe*, the following Account, which, they said, had been first of all printed at *Revel*.

*A true Relation of the Return of the Russian Fleet to Revel and Cronslot, taken in authentick Journals, and published to confute the false Reports of those that envy the Glory of his Czarish Majesty's Arms, and had spread a Report, as if the said Fleet had fled upon the Advice of the joining of the English and Swedish Fleets.*

**B**EFORE the Beginning of the last Campaign, and likewise before his Czarish Majesty's Fleet set out from *Cronslot*, they had the News there of an *English* Squadron being sent to the *Baltick*, under the Command of Admiral *Norris*.

His Majesty also had Advice, that the said Admiral had Orders, in Concert with the *Swedes*, to oppose the *Russian* Fleet, in its Operation against *Sweden*.

This occasioned his Czarish Majesty to take some Precautions, and to send Orders to Mr. *Wesselowski*, his Resident in *England*, to inform himself of the Matter: His Majesty also, that no Time might be lost, wrote himself to the said Admiral *Norris* the 10<sup>th</sup> of *June* last  
from

from *Cronstot*, and sent his Letters by the Lieutenant Count *Gollowin*.

But, in the mean Time, his Majesty being on the Way with both his Fleets towards the Isle of *Aland*, detached from thence his High Admiral Count *Apraxin*, with the Flotilla or Gallies, towards the *Scheeren* of *Sweden*, to begin the Operations of the War ; and with the Men of War, after his Majesty had convoyed the other, he returned, and came to an Anchor at the said Isles of *Abland*. *N. B.* It was not till the 25<sup>th</sup> of *July*, Old Style, that his Majesty received an Answer to the said Letter, by which it is evident, there appeared no Manner of Design of Hostility.

The 7<sup>th</sup> of *August*, *M. Osterman*, Minister and Plenipotentiary of his Czarish Majesty, who had been sent into *Sweden*, returned with a Letter from the Queen of *Sweden*, and made his Report of the pressing Instances which that Princess made to his Czarish Majesty, to put a Stop to his Hostilities, in order to forward the Peace.

Upon these Instances, the 9<sup>th</sup> of the same Month, his Majesty, after having called a Council, sent Orders to his said High Admiral to cease the Hostilities, and return with the Fleet to *Lameland*, as well in Consideration of the Entreaties of the Queen of *Sweden*, as also because the Season was too far advanced ; and his High Admiral executed those Orders the 19<sup>th</sup>.

After this, his Majesty calling a General Council, it was resolved therein, for the Reason abovesaid, to put an End to the Campaign ; and having agreed for the Dispositions for laying up the Gallies in several Ports, he gave them Orders to sail to their respective Ports with the first fair Wind, the Grand Fleet setting Sail also on the 21<sup>st</sup> of *August* for *Revel*, and his Czarish Majesty parted the same Day with some Gallies for *Petersburgh*.

The same Day, after his Czarish Majesty's departing, one Part of the Gallies sailed for *Abo*, others for *Revel*, and others remained some Time at *Lameland*, to observe the Enemy.

All these Things passed, without having the least Advice of the Approach of the *English* Fleet to the Assistance of the *Swedes*, less had they Notice of such a Design, and least of all, that there was a Treaty on Foot for that Purpose between *Sweden* and *England*.

In the mean Time, his Czarish Majesty's Fleet arrived in the Road of *Revel* the 23<sup>d</sup> of *August*; they met in the Way, at the Isle of *Nargen*, Lieutenant Count *Gollowin*, who had been sent, as before, and was returning in a Hooker to *Copenhagen*: He came away from thence the 21<sup>st</sup>, with the News only that Admiral *Norris* was sailed to *Bornholm*, but without any Account of his Design.

It was not till after the Arrival of the *Russian* Fleet at *Revel*, that they had the first News of Admiral *Norris*'s being at Sea; and his Czarish Majesty received not that Account till the 27<sup>th</sup>, when Count *Gollowin* came to his Majesty at the Isles of *Beresaw*, and brought him the same Account: These Advices were farther confirmed some Time after from the *Russian* Ambassador at *Copenhagen*, the Prince *Dolgoruki*, who sent it by one of his Servants with a nimble Frigate express: He informed his Czarish Majesty, among other Things, of the joining Sir *John Norris* by several other Men of War from *England*.

This Frigate of Prince *Dolgoruki* passed by the Isles of *Aland* the 23<sup>d</sup> of *August*, not meeting the *Russian* Fleet, which was that very Day arrived at *Revel*: He stay'd there some Time after, according to his Czarish Majesty's Orders.

In a Word, the Season being far advanced, his Czarish Majesty sent Orders, that half the Fleet should come to *Cronslot*, where they arrived the 14<sup>th</sup> of *September*, the other half remaining in the Port of *Revel*.

After this his Czarish Majesty received Advice from several different Places, that the King of *England* had made a separate Peace, and a Defensive Alliance with the Queen of *Sweden*; but to this Day no Notice has been given either by his *Britannick* Majesty's Minister at the *Russian* Court, or by any other Channel.

But

But the 18<sup>th</sup> of September, Letters from his Czarish Majesty's Plenipotentiary at *Aland*, dated the 10<sup>th</sup> of the same Month, brought an Account, that a *Swedish* Brigantine had brought thither an *English* Gentleman, whose Name was *Berkeley*, who being sent to, the next Day after his Arrival, had told them, that he was sent by the Lord *Carteret*, the *English* Ambassador at *Stockholm*, and Admiral *Norris*, with some Letters for his Czarish Majesty, desiring them that they would give him Dispatches towards *Petersburgh*, or that they would take the Letters he had brought, and forward them to his Czarish Majesty.

That hereupon the said Plenipotentiary asked him, if he had any Message to deliver to his Czarish Majesty by Word of Mouth? To which he had answered, that he had nothing in Commission but to deliver the said Letters; that this obliged them to ask him, What were the Contents of the said Letters? And that he had given them Copies of them, both in *English* and *French*: That seeing by the Contents of the said Letters, that as well the Ambassador, as the Admiral, had treated him in so unusual a Manner, and so full of Pride, they durst not take upon them to forward the said Gentleman to his Czarish Majesty, nor to receive his Letters; and then after they had given him this Answer, they returned him in Safety to *Sweden*, to the *English* Ambassador, with a Letter signifying the same.

Thus it appears, by all that had been said, that the Instances of the Queen of *Sweden*, and the Season being so far advanced, have been the only Reasons which had determined his Czarish Majesty to put an End, for this Year, to the Operations of the War, and to bring back his Forces into his Ports; and that the Conjunction of the *English* and *Swedish* Ships could not contribute any Thing to that Resolution, seeing they had no Knowledge of it till after the whole *Russian* Fleet was so returned.

Notwithstanding this Account above, published by the *Russians*, it was generally thought that the Approach of the *British* Fleet was the Occasion of their Retreat. It was on the 26<sup>th</sup> of August that Sir John Norris arrived



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rived at the *Dablers*: The next Day the Prince of *Hesse* and the Lord *Carteret* paid him a Visit on Board; and on the 3<sup>d</sup> of *September* the Queen herself, and the whole Court, went on Board, and were magnificently entertained by the Admiral at Dinner; after which there was a Ball, in which her Majesty danced. The Admiral was received with great Honours at the City of *Stockholm*, where, without doubt, his Presence was very agreeable to the *Swedes*, whose Country was in such Distress. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of the same Month Mr. *Berkeley*, Son of the Lord *Berkeley* of *Stratton*, set out from *Stockholm* with the Letters before-mentioned, from the Lord *Carteret* and Sir *John Norris*, to the Czar, offering his *Britannick* Majesty's Mediation, for making Peace between his Czarish Majesty and the Queen of *Sweden*; the Contents of which were as follows:

*His Excellency the Lord Carteret's Letter to his Czarish Majesty.*

*Stockholm, Sept. 1. O. S. 1719.*

S I R E,

“THE King of *Great-Britain*, my Master, has ordered me, his Ambassador Extraordinary at the Court of *Sweden*, to acquaint your Czarish Majesty, that the Queen of *Sweden* has accepted his Mediation, in order to make a Peace between your Czarish Majesty and this Crown. Mr. *Whitworth*, the *British* Minister at *Berlin*, has already had the Honour to offer to your Majesty the same Mediation by M. *Tolstoi*, your Majesty's Minister at that Court; and I am commanded to repeat the same Offer to your Majesty. As the Queen of *Sweden* was induced to accept the Mediation of the Crown of *Great-Britain*, because that Crown has never been engaged in the present Northern War; so it is humbly hoped that the same Argument will prevail with your Majesty, and that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to cause all Hostilities to cease in the mean Time, as a Mark of your Majesty's Acceptance of the Mediation, and of your favourable Dispositions to Peace.

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I beg

I beg Leave to inform your Majesty, that the King, my Master, has commanded Sir *John Norris*, his Admiral, to come with the Fleet under his Command upon this Coast, to protect the Trade of his Subjects, as well as to give Weight and Support to his Mediation; and that his Majesty has taken Measures with the most Christian King, and his other Allies, among which *Sweden* is comprised, not only to procure to his Mediation the Success his Majesty ought to expect from it, but speedily to put an End to the War, which has so long disturbed the North.

*I am with the greatest Submission and Respect,*

S I R E,

*Your Majesty's most humble,*

*And most obedient Servant,*

CARTERET.

*Admiral NORRIS's Letter to the CZAR.*

S I R E,

“THE Crown of *Great-Britain* having never had any Part in the present War in the North, and the King, my Master, having offered to your Czarian Majesty his Mediation for a Peace between your Majesty and the Crown of *Sweden*, I was commanded to come into this Sea, to promote the Commerce of his Subjects, and also to give Weight to his Mediation, and to support the same.

If your Majesty will accept this Mediation, I shall account myself extremely honoured with receiving your Orders, and contributing in some Measure to the cultivating a good Correspondence between your Majesty, the Crown of *Sweden*, and the King my Master.

His Majesty has taken Measures with the most Christian King, and his other Allies, in which the Crown of *Sweden* is comprised, not only to procure to his Mediation the Success which is reasonably expected, but al-

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so to put a speedy Period to the War which has so long troubled the North.

I intreat your Majesty to cease, in the mean while, all Hostilities, in order to shew your favourable Dispositions for a Peace.

*I remain with the profoundest Respect, &c.*

JOHN NORRIS.

Mr. Berkeley carrying these Letters to the *Russian* Plenipotentiaries, before their Departure from *Aland*, they would neither undertake to send them to the Czar, nor give him a Passport for *Petersburgh*, as in the Account above; but General *Bruce* contented himself to answer my Lord *Carteret* in these Terms.

My LORD,

“THE *Sieur Berkeley* delivered to me the Letter your Excellency did me the Honour to write to me on the first of *September*. At the same Time, upon our Request, he communicated to us the Contents of the Letters committed to him for his Czarish Majesty.

Your Excellency will give me Leave, in Answer, to tell you, that I find the Contents of those Letters so singular, and so little agreeable to the strict Ties, the Alliances, and the Friendship, that still subsist between his Czarish Majesty and his *Britannick* Majesty, that I cannot prevail with myself to do that which you tell me you desire, without having first received the Orders of the Czar, my most august Master.

Besides, I am persuaded, that his *Britannick* Majesty will not fail to acquaint him directly with his Thoughts and Pretensions in relation to an Affair of so great Importance, either by a Letter to his Czarish Majesty himself, or else by the *British* Ministers at *Petersburgh*; and that therefore there is no need of making use of such extraordinary Ways and Means.

In other Respects, it will be the greatest Satisfaction to me to be able to make known to your Excellency, that I am, with all possible Regard and Esteem, &c.

BRUCE.

Upon this Answer being given, the Sieurs *Jefferies* and *Weber* received Orders to leave the Court of *Peterburgh*, and retire to *Dantzick*: Which was enough to shew the King of *England*'s Disposition to the Czar. Besides, his Czarish Majesty had learned that Admiral *Norris* had Orders to join *Sweden* in opposing the Operations of the *Russian* Fleet: Whereupon the Czar caused all the *English* Merchants in his Dominions to be arrested, and threatened to confiscate all their Effects, which amounted to above fifty Millions, if the *British* Nation made War upon him: And at the same Time, to cast all the Blame on the Court of *Great-Britain*, his Czarish Majesty declared his Intentions to King *George I.* by the following Memorial, which was presented by his Resident *Wesselowski*.

S I R E,

“**H**IS Czarish Majesty, my most august Master, being always actuated by a sincere Desire to cultivate constantly a good Understanding with your Majesty, finds himself obliged to acquaint you with the Advices he received, that your Majesty entered last Summer with *Sweden* into Treaties entirely opposite to the Engagements your Majesty is under with his Czarish Majesty by the Treaty of Mutual Alliance of 1715.

By that Treaty, Sire, your Majesty, as Elector of *Brunswick Lunenburgh*, did engage not only not to make Peace with *Sweden* without the Participation, and much less in Exclusion of his Czarish Majesty, but to employ all possible Means to endeavour to procure to him, by a general Peace, the Cession of *Ingria*, *Carelia*, *Esthonia*, with the Town of *Revel*, and all its Dependencies, and not to oppose, either directly or indirectly, the other Conditions which his Czarish Majesty might farther stipulate at the General Peace with *Sweden*. Your Majesty

jeſty obliged yourſelf likewise by that Treaty, to ſupport, as King of *England*, his Czarish Maſteſty's Intereſt, and to ſecond his Deſigns on all Occaſions ; as his Czarish Maſteſty obliged himſelf on his Part, by the ſame Treaty, to procure to your Maſteſty the Poſſeſſion of the Dutchieſ of *Bremen* and *Verden*.

His Czarish Maſteſty has faithfully performed the Conditions on his Part, and your Maſteſty has had the Benefit of them, by the Acquiſition of the Dutchy of *Bremen*, and of the Principality of *Verden* ; which your Maſteſty could never have obtained, had not his Czarish Maſteſty employed all his Cares, and moſt earneſt Sollicitations with his Maſteſty the King of *Denmark*, to induce him to diſeſt himſelf, in Favour of your Maſteſty, of ſo valuable a Conqueſt.

It cannot be diſowned, that thoſe Sollicitations were effectual. His *Daniſh* Maſteſty did not condeſcend thereto but merely out of Regard to his Czarish Maſteſty, which has added to your Maſteſty's Dominions in *Germany* a Poſſeſſion very much to your Convenience.

Theſe evident Proofs which his Czarish Maſteſty has given to your Maſteſty of the Sincerity of his Intentions for your Intereſt, *Sire*, and for the aggrandizing of your Family, might well make his Czarish Maſteſty hope for ſome Acknowledgment on the Part of your Maſteſty.

Nothing was more natural than to expect from your Maſteſty at leaſt a Return, by the religious Obſervance of the ſame Treaty which produced you ſuch conſiderable Advantages.

But, *Sire*, his Czarish Maſteſty finds himſelf entirely fruſtrated of his Hopes, and it is with great Concern he ſees himſelf obliged to make now, by this preſent Memorial, Representations to your Maſteſty on the Manner wherein your Maſteſty has ſeparated yourſelf from his Alliance, and how little Cauſe his Czarish Maſteſty has given for being thus dealt with.

Your Maſteſty was not ſatisfied with making Peace for yourſelf, excluſive of the Czar my Maſter ; you alſo drew off, from the Alliance they had with him, his *Pruſſian* Maſteſty, and his Maſteſty the King of *Poland*,



as Elector of *Saxony*; your Majesty has included them in that separate Peace, and has made, as King of *Great-Britain*, with the Queen of *Sweden*, an Alliance, by which you have engaged to give her Assistance, by Subsidies of Money, and by a good Number of Men of War against his Czarish Majesty.

The Kings of *Great-Britain*, your Majesty's Predecessors, have at all Times set a Value upon the Friendship and good Understanding established between the Crowns of *Great-Russia* and *Great-Britain*, in Consideration of the considerable Advantages accruing to their Kingdoms, by a Commerce gainful to their Subjects.

King *William* had Engagements with the Crown of *Sweden*, actually to give it Assistance by Virtue of a Treaty of defensive Alliance; yet nothing was able to determine him to declare against his Czarish Majesty at the Beginning of the present Northern War.

That great Prince, who was sensible it was for the Good and Interest of his Kingdoms, to preserve good Intelligence with *Great-Russia*, kept himself within the Bounds of good Offices, which he employed for the Pacification of the North; and it is not to be doubted but they would have proved effectual, had the Crown of *Sweden* shewn the same good Disposition to it which that Prince found in his Czarish Majesty.

Queen *Anne*, of glorious Memory, trod in those Steps so full of Wisdom and Prudence; tho' she interposed by good Offices in Favour of the Ducal House of *Holstein* yet she never went out of amicable Paths. All the World that made a sound Judgment of it, applauded her, and her Kingdoms had the Benefit of it.

If the Princes who wore the Crown of *Great-Britain* before your Majesty, and who had no particular Obligation to the Czar my Master, did yet carry so fair with him, merely in Consideration of the Advantage and true Interest which the *British* Nation found in a good Correspondence with the *Russian* Empire; had not his Czarish Majesty good Grounds to expect that your Majesty, the worthy Successor of those great Monarchs would not disdain to imitate them, and would follow their Examples? Seeing so many personal Reasons which

your Majesty has, and which your Predecessors had not, to cultivate a good Friendship with his Czarish Majesty, might serve as powerful Motives to induce your Majesty to endeavour to surpass them in that respect.

His Czarish Majesty had the greater Reason to expect it, *Sire*, not only as he never gave you Cause on his Part, to deviate from Maxims which the Kings, your Majesty's Predecessors, judged good, and which they thought fit to practise towards his Czarish Majesty; but because, on the contrary, would your Majesty but reflect a little upon it, you will find that the Conduct which his Czarish Majesty has constantly observed towards your Majesty, has proved very useful to you, and might have convinced you of the Sincerity of his good Intentions towards your Majesty.

May it please your Majesty to recollect all the Advantages which the Czar, my august Master, has made for strengthening and cementing a-new, the antient Union between the two Crowns of *Great-Russia* and *Great-Britain*, by more close and strong Ties.

When your Majesty, in the Year 1716, desired that his Czarish Majesty would be pleased to send his Ambassador, Prince *Kurakin*, to *London*, with what Readiness did the Czar my Master enter into your Majesty's View? And did he not do all was possible for him, to comply with your Majesty's Desires, when you caused to be proposed to him, by one of the Chief of the *English* Ministry at that Time, a Project of a Treaty of perpetual defensive Alliance, and of Guarantee for the Succession of the *British* Crown established in the Protestant Line, and of another Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, by which your Majesty, and the *British* Nation, were to reap solid and perpetual Advantages?

The Remembrance of all that passed at that Time, and on that Occasion, as well in *England* as in *Holland*, is still so fresh, that it is needless to repeat all the Particulars: The principal Ministers your Majesty has at this Time are not ignorant of them; they have been often employed to assure his Czarish Majesty's Ministers of your Majesty's Desire to bring so good and beneficial a Work to its Conclusion, and to perfect it. His

Czarish Majesty did equally wish it, and shewed all the Condescension that could be expected from him.

Yet this Work, so earnestly desired at first by your Majesty, which would have procured such solid Advantages to the *British* Nation, and have given them such a valuable Preference in their Commerce to all other Nations, remained imperfect.

The Interest of the Nobility of *Mecklenbourg* came across : That Interest, so foreign to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, created Incidents, which dissipated all the Appearances of a happy Success of that Negotiation.

It was by this that all the Earnestness which had been shewn, for making Alliances with his Czarish Majesty, came to be cool, and to be changed all on a sudden into Disgust, Animosity, and Hatred.

Your Majesty's Ministers were soon observed to fill foreign Courts with sinister Insinuations, to act against his Czarish Majesty's Interest, and to put all Manner of false Interpretations on his Intentions. Great Pains were taken to draw off his Friends, and to raise him Enemies. What Means were not used to embroil his Czarish Majesty with the Court of *Vienna*, and to divert the Court of *Denmark* from the Measures then taken with his Czarish Majesty, for the Operation of War against *Sweden* ? And in 1716, when his Czarish Majesty was at *Copenhagen*, was it not brought to the Point of causing Admiral *Norris* to act hostilely against his Czarish Majesty's Fleet, and against his Land Forces, if his *Danish* Majesty would only have consented to it ?

Pretences were to be found out for palliating so great a Change of Conduct, and so extraordinary a Proceeding toward his Czarish Majesty, to dispose the Publick to believe there were strong Reasons for using him so, it was rumoured among the *British* Nation ; and pretended to be believed, that his Czarish Majesty held Correspondence with the Pretender, for placing him on the Throne of *Great-Britain*.

All the Assurances, *Sire*, which his Czarish Majesty caused to be given to your Majesty, by the Memorial which I had the Honour to present to you in 1717, might

might have convinced your Majesty, and all the reasonable World, that this Design was never in his Thoughts, and that these Imputations were false and groundless.

When any Advances were made from that Quarter, his Czarish Majesty rejected them with Firmness, even without returning Answers, and without permitting his Ministers to enter into any Communication with the Adherents of that Person.

But to take away all Colour of Suspensions, of what Nature soever they were, his Majesty was pleased to overlook the Prejudice which the Conduct observed towards him for some Time had done to his Affairs, and to forget the Injury that had been offered to his Integrity and Magnanimity : He sacrificed his Resentments to the Desire he had to preserve a good Harmony between the Crowns of *Great-Russia* and *Great-Britain* ; and he offered your Majesty to terminate with you, all the Differences there might be between you, and to re-establish a mutual Confidence and good Correspondence.

Your Majesty knows that his Czarish Majesty's Privy-Counsellor of State, M. *Tolstoi*, repaired to your Majesty at *Hanover* with that Commission : That the Steps and Offers his Czarish Majesty made, for renewing the Negotiations of Alliance, were considerable, and that nothing could have been capable to hinder the happy Success of them, had not the same Interest of the Nobility of *Mecklenbourg* destroyed the apparent Probability there was of accomplishing it.

The Czar, my august Master, conceived new Hopes of forming a good and solid Union between the two Monarchies, when your Majesty sent to him, during his Stay in *Holland*, Mr. *Whitworth* and Admiral *Norris*, your Ministers Plenipotentiary ; but his Czarish Majesty's Ministers had hardly entered into Conference with those of your Majesty when these Hopes vanished, because they owned they had no Propositions to make ; and when his Czarish Majesty's Ministers made some, which tended to re-establish a good Harmony, and a perfect and sincere Alliance, your Majesty's Ministers contented themselves with taking those Proposals *ad re-*

*ferendum*, declaring, that they were not furnished with Orders on that Subject.

At the same Time his Czarish Majesty received Advices, which explained to him what might be the Motives of the Procedures observed towards him ; he was informed of the secret Negotiations set on Foot by some of your Majesty's Ministers, for a separate Peace with *Sweden* : This disposed his Czarish Majesty to hearken likewise, on his Part, to the Propositions which some Ministers of *Sweden*, who were at that Time in *Holland*, made, for entering upon a Negotiation of Peace.

Their Majesties, the Kings of *Poland* and *Prussia*, had then the same Views, and they assured his Czarish Majesty, that they would take Measures in Concert with him, for the common Good. Their Dispositions engaged his Czarish Majesty to explain himself on the Propositions of *Sweden* ; and, to shew that he was disposed to enter into a Negotiation, a Place for the Congress was settled, which was the Isle of *Aland*.

His Czarish Majesty, who had always in View a general Peace, communicated the Resolution of the late King of *Sweden*, as soon as he had received it, as well to your Majesty, by your Resident M. *Weber*, as to his Majesty the King of *Denmark*, by his Envoy Extraordinary at *Petersburgh*, assuring your Majesty that your Ministers should be admitted to this Congress, if you were disposed to enter into this Negotiation jointly with his Czarish Majesty.

The Czar, my Master, not seeing in your Majesty any Inclination to come into it, and finding on the contrary, that the separate Negotiations begun in *Sweden* were preferred to it, his Czarish Majesty could not forbear causing the Congress of *Aland* to be opened, and continuing afterwards the Negotiations for Peace, jointly with his *Prussian* Majesty.

The Affair had been ended long ago, while the King of *Sweden* was alive, could his Czarish Majesty have resolved to abandon his Allies, and to enter into Measures which were proposed to him against your Majesty.



But good Faith, which his Czarish Majesty esteems a principal Virtue in a great Monarch, his Steadiness in maintaining the Alliances he had contracted, made him absolutely reject those Measures : He chose rather to sacrifice all the Advantages he might have reaped from them, than expose himself to the Reproach of having ever, in the Course of his Reign, deserted his Allies, and been wanting to his Treaties ; he therefore preferred the Continuance of the War to a clandestine and separate Peace.

His Czarish Majesty has since that Time caused new Offers to be made to your Majesty, as well by his own Ministers, as by those of your Majesty, for re-establishing good Correspondence and Union, and taking common Measures.

He offered even to break off the Congress at *Aland*, as soon as any Disposition should appear in your Majesty for renewing a sincere Friendship.

These Advances made by his Czarish Majesty, had no better Success than so many others which had preceded them : They were received with Coldness and Indifference.

The Consideration of the Proceedings and Integrity of his Czarish Majesty, moved foreign Princes, who were well affected to the common Good, to interpose their good Offices for the re-establishing good Intelligence between the Czar, my august Master, and your Majesty.

With this View his Royal Highness the Duke of *Orleans*, Regent of *France*, caused some Propositions to be made last Winter to his Czarish Majesty, who instantly received them with Joy ; and to shew that he was in the best Disposition to bring them to a Conclusion, he sent to his Ministers in *France*, full Powers for entering into Negotiation upon that Subject. But the Offer of those Propositions was hardly made, when they were likewise let drop again, and it was observed that your Majesty was not inclined to them.

His Czarish Majesty thought that this Affair was putting upon a good Foot again, when your Majesty sent your Resident, Mr. *Jefferyes*, to his Majesty's Court ;

and when your Majesty assured that Court, by me, that he was to make Proposals of Alliance: But they were very much surprized there, when, instead of making any himself, he asked, at his Arrival, what those were that they had to make to him.

His Czarish Majesty had a Right to pretend and require, that the Promise made him should be made good; and that since Assurances had been given him that the said Minister came to propose, he ought to do it by some Overture.

However, his Majesty was pleased to pass over that Difficulty, and to give a new Proof of the Sincerity of his Intentions for the establishing a solid Alliance between the two Crowns of *Great-Russia* and *Great-Britain*, he ordered his Ministers to put into the Hand of your Majesty's said Resident, a Project of a defensive Alliance and Guaranty, conformable to that which had been set on Foot in the Year 1716.

Could there be clearer and stronger Proofs given than these, that his Czarish Majesty had no Design, nor so much as the Thought to undertake any Thing against your Majesty's Government? Since, far from doing any Thing tending that Way, he sought only to attach himself to your Majesty, and to enter into Engagements with you for the surer Establishment of your Throne, and for securing it to your Royal Posterity.

Yet, *Sire*, tho' your Majesty's Resident sent that Project to your Court so far was it from being looked upon with any Regard, that not so much as an Answer was returned to it; and his Czarish Majesty, instead of being made sensible of your Majesty's being inclined to make a Return to all these Advances made by his Czarish Majesty, for restoring good Harmony, received credible Advices from several Parts, that the numerous Squadron sent by your Majesty into the *Baltick*, under the Command of Admiral *Norris*, was designed to succour *Sweden*, and to turn against his Czarish Majesty.

The News of a Design so contrary to your Majesty's Engagements, surprized his Czarish Majesty; he could not persuade himself that he had any Thing like it to  
fear

fear from an Ally on whom he had heaped so many Benefits, nor from the Naval Force of *Great-Britain*, with which his Czarish Majesty, and his glorious Ancestors, have always maintained an inviolable Friendship, and most strict Correspondence.

But calling to Mind what had happened on other Occasions, he judged, that for securing himself from all Surprise, Prudence required that such important Advices should not be neglected ; and he sent Orders to the underwritten Minister, to inform himself at your Majesty's Court, what the said Squadron was designed for, and whether it was true, that Admiral *Norris* had Orders so contrary to what were to be expected from a Prince allied with his Czarish Majesty ?

His Czarish Majesty's Fleet was then ready to put to Sea : His Czarish Majesty wrote to that Admiral, desiring him to own plainly what his Orders and Designs were ; declaring to him, that if he could not assure his Majesty, by Writing, that he would undertake nothing against him and his Fleet, he should forbear approaching with his Squadron the Coasts and Fleet of his Czarish Majesty.

Your Majesty's Secretary of State, Mr. *Craggs*, strongly assured the underwritten Minister, that the Admiral had no Orders to act in a hostile Manner against his Czarish Majesty ; to whom the said Admiral also wrote, on his Part, from *Copenhagen* to the same Purpose, though in Terms less clear.

In the mean Time, the Campaign being ended, his Czarish Majesty, upon his Return to *Petersburgh*, received Advices, that pursuant to your Majesty's new Engagements contracted with *Sweden*, Admiral *Norris* had actually Orders to join eighteen of his Men of War to the *Swedish* Fleet, and to act against his Czarish Majesty. Accordingly, that *English* Squadron thus combined with the *Swedish*, did sail towards the *Scheren* of *Sweden*, but it was too late to execute their Design : The advanced Season had already put an End to the Operations of his Czarish Majesty's Campaign ; he was returned to his own Harbours with his Fleet and Gallies.

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His Czarish Majesty was informed soon after, by his Plenipotentiaries at the Congress of *Aland*, of the Letters which your Majesty's Ambassador in *Sweden*, the Lord *Carteret*, and Admiral *Norris*, had written for offering him your Mediation, and of his Plenipotentiaries' Reasons for sending them back : They came from Ministers who had no manner of Credentials to his Czarish Majesty, and were drawn up in imperious Terms, which were not proper to be used to a great Monarch.

Your Majesty, who so well knows what is due to Sovereigns when any Thing is to be treated with them, may judge, by all that passed on that Occasion, whether the Manner in which your Majesty's Ministers treated his Czarish Majesty, when they offered him your Mediation, *Sire*, was agreeable to the Friendship which has subsisted at all Times between the Crowns of *Great-Russia* and *Great-Britain* ; and whether a Mediation, offered with Circumstances so little equitable, can be looked upon as impartial ?

To tell a Sovereign with a Sort of Command and Threatening, as your Majesty's Ministers wrote to his Czarish Majesty, that he must make an End of the War, to put himself into a Condition to obtain by that Means a reasonable Peace ; and to propose to him the Mediation of a Power, at the same Time that he is given to understand, that the same Power had entered into an Alliance, and that, in Concert with his Enemy, he has taken Measures against him ; this is not to endeavour to engage him to Peace, it is rather seeking Pretences for a Rupture, and threatening him with it.

His Czarish Majesty cannot believe your Majesty has these Views : They are too opposite to the true Interest of *Great-Britain*, and to the Idea the Czar, my most august Master, has of your Majesty's Equity and Magnanimity.

It does not appear what Motives are of Importance enough for breaking at this Time, without any just and lawful Reason, the antient Ties of Friendship between the two Crowns, and the good Correspondence main-

maintained and cultivated in all Times with mutual Care.

Those Ties have always proved to the *British* Nation a Source of considerable Advantages in their Commerce. Wars interrupt the Course and Security of it ; publick Calamities and infinite Evils are the inevitable Consequences of Wars.

His Czarish Majesty is desirous to prevent them by all the Means that depend upon him ; my most august Master is still in the same Disposition in which he has always been, inviolably to maintain a good Understanding with your Majesty, and the Crown of *Great-Britain*, and to cultivate its Friendship.

He has not yet given it any Pretext for committing Hostilities against him, and he declares that he will never commit any on his Part, unless he be openly declared and acted against, which his Czarish Majesty hopes will not happen.

His Majesty expects with Impatience, to be informed of the Resolution your Majesty will be pleased to signify upon this Memorial which I have the Honour to present you, to the End my august Master may know what he has to expect on the Part of your Royal Majesty. Done at London the 25<sup>th</sup> of Dec. 1719. N. S.

Signed, WESSELOWSKI.

To this Memorial the Earl of *Stanhope*, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, returned the following Answer.

THE Considerations his Majesty has for the Czar having engaged him to cause the Memorial presented by the Sieur Resident *Wesselowski*, the 14<sup>th</sup> of *December* last, to be examined and maturely weighed, and the Memorial being intermixed with Facts that concern his Majesty as King, and others that concern him only as Elector, he caused an Answer to be given, with Reference to the latter, by his *German* Chancery ; and  
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as for the others, he has commanded me to return the Answer following.

His Majesty has ever made it his Care and Application to follow the Maxims of his Royal Predecessors, those principally which tend to the maintaining of Peace and Friendship between him and the other Potentates of *Europe*, and to the cultivating Commerce with them, for mutual Advantages.

His Majesty has shewn, in particular, a sincere Desire to live in Amity with the Czar, although the Crown of *Great-Britain* had no formal Engagements with that Prince; and one may well ascribe to the Advances his Majesty has made to gain the Czar's Friendship, the Resentment of the late King of *Sweden* against his Majesty, the Effects of which have appeared on several Occasions.

It was in order to establish a good Correspondence with the Czar on a solid Foundation, that his Majesty desired to make with him a Treaty of Commerce.

It is true, Prince *Kurakin* repaired hither for that Negotiation, about the Beginning of the Year 1716; but instead of making suitable Returns to his Majesty's Advances, there were started several Difficulties too tedious to be related in this Place; and in particular, the King's Subjects were denied the Liberty of trading at *Casan* and *Astracan*; a Privilege which had been granted them by his Czarish Majesty's Predecessors: But what chiefly rendered this Negotiation fruitless was, that the Czar would never come into this Treaty of Commerce, unless an Alliance were concluded at the same Time, which was to extend so far, as inevitably to engage *Great-Britain* in a Rupture with the Crown of *Sweden*, its antient Ally; whose Destruction is equally inconsistent with the Peace and the Balance of *Europe*, and with the Support of the Protestant Religion; to which his Majesty both in regard to Conscience, and to Reason of State, is under so many Obligations to contribute with all his Power.

The seventh Article \* of that Alliance, which is set here in the Margin, shews that there was demanded of his Majesty, not only the Guarantee of so many Provinces which the Czar has conquered from *Sweden*, (without a great Part whereof it is impossible for that Crown to subsist) but that they insisted also on the Assistance of a *British* Fleet, to act directly against *Sweden*, and even that that Fleet should be under the Command of the Czar and his Admirals; which, with regard to *Great-Britain*, was the most impracticable and the most odious Thing in the World: So that it is evident his Majesty could not enter into any such Engagements, without rendering all Peace and Agreement with *Sweden* utterly impossible; since he must have guaranteed to the Czar, Provinces, which that Crown can never give up; and besides, his Majesty would thereby have drawn upon himself the Powers concerned in the Preservation of *Sweden*, and those which are obliged to it by their Alliances and Guarantees; the Friendship of which Powers was moreover so necessary to the King, in order to bring about, in Concert with them, the great Schemes he had formed for the Tranquility of *Europe*. Let any one judge, whether his Majesty, how desirous

\* *A Copy of the seventh Article of the Project of Alliance proposed by Prince Kurakin, in 1716, and which in all the subsequent Negotiations has ever been laid on the Part of the Czar, as a Condition sine qua non.*

Article VII. *His Britannick Majesty promises and engages on his Part, that in the Negotiations of Peace with the Crown of Sweden, he will, like a good Ally, assist his Czarish Majesty with all his Power and Interest, so that, by Virtue of that Peace, the Crown of Sweden shall yield up, and make over for ever, to his Czarish Majesty, and his Successors, the Provinces which, at present, are actually under the Dominions of his said Czarish Majesty, to wit, Ingria, Livonia, Esthonia, and Carelia, with all their Dependencies, the Town of Wybourg inclusive. And if his Czarish Majesty, and his Successors, happen to be attacked or disturbed in the said Provinces and Places, his Britannick Majesty engages, both for himself and his Successors, to assist them at his own Expence, two Months after he or they shall be required so to do, with fifteen Ships of the Line of Battle, which shall serve where his Czarish Majesty shall desire, and the said Squadron shall act under the Command of his Czarish Majesty, and his Admiral.*

soever he might be to secure the Czar's Friendship, could purchase it at so dear a Rate.

It was for these Causes the Negotiation of a Treaty of Commerce in the Month of *February*, 1716, miscarried, and not on Account of the Affair of *Mecklenbourg*, which did not happen till the Month of *October* following. Whatever Share the King might have in this last mentioned Affair, as Elector, he did not intermeddle in it as King. Sir *John Norris* made no Attempt, either against the Czar's Fleet, or against his Land Forces; no Concert was framed for that Purpose; and the Meaning of the Writer of the Memorial is not to be understood, when he insinuates that Admiral *Norris* was just going to act in an hostile Manner against the Czar's Fleet, then at *Copenhagen*. An Imputation of this Nature, ought never to be advanced without sufficient Proof; and if the Czar entertained any such Suspicion, it can be founded on no Fact that ever came to the Knowledge of his Majesty, or any of his Ministers: It ought rather to be believed, that this Affectation of insinuating such Jealousies in the Memorial, is on purpose to divert the Reader's Attention from the Designs which the Czar's Conduct, at that Time, gave just Grounds to suspect him of. For if it be true that he had such Views, and that being in the most intimate Alliance with the King of *Denmark*, he yet had projected no less, than to possess himself of the *Sound*, and of *Copenhagen* (instead of a Descent upon *Schonen*, with which the World had been amused for several Months,) it is natural that he should endeavour to put the Public upon a wrong Scent, and to turn the Bias of their Thoughts by Recriminations, that have no manner of Foundation. Now if the Czar really had such Intentions, it is possible he was kept from bringing them to Effect, by a just Apprehension that his Majesty's Fleet might oppose them, which it would infallibly have done in such a Case: And might not the Czar's Resentment, at the Disappointment of so vast a Project, by the Fear of a *British* Fleet, have been the Cause of his being so much estranged from his Majesty ever since that time? For from thence may be dated the Commencement of

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that Animosity, which on so many Occasions he has shewn against his Majesty.

This appeared soon after, when by the Letters that past between Count Gyllembourg and Baron Gortz, it was discovered, that the Czar was incensed against his Majesty, to such a Degree, that he thought in good earnest of a Reconciliation with the King of Sweden, of making a separate Peace with him, and of assisting the Pretender at the same time, to possess himself of the Throne of *Great-Britain*; and in Truth, whatever Assurances of the contrary were given in the Memorial of 1717, the Czar's Conduct, ever since, seems to have been entirely suited to such a Scheme. The Negotiations of one *Jernegan*, and of Sir *Hugh Patterfon*, Brother-in-Law to the late Lord *Mar*, with the *Russian* Ministry, while the Czar was in *Holland*, are not unknown; no more than are the Intrigues of that Ministry, both with the late Duke of *Ormond*, whilst he lay Incognito at *Mittaw*, and with Sir *Harry Sterling*, and the said *Jernegan* at *Petersburgh*; nor the Correspondence, which, by Means of the Person last named, was settled between the Czar and the Court of *Spain*.

It appeared publickly, that the Czar gave all Manner of Protection and Encouragement to a great Number of his Majesty's Rebel Subjects. It is well known that the Conferences at *Aland*, which were set on Foot without his Majesty's Knowledge, had their Rise from an Interview with Baron Gortz at *Leo*, in *August*, 1717. That Minister's Papers have discovered the Design of those Conferences; and that the Invasion of *Scotland* was immediately to follow the Conquest of *Norway*; so that it is not strange the Czar should take no Care to prevent the Loss of that Country, or to succour his Ally the King of *Denmark*, in so pressing an Exigence: In short, it is sufficiently known, that the Czar caused repeated Proposals to be made to the Court of *Spain*, to bring them into an offensive Alliance against his Majesty in Favour of the Pretender.

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The King, not yet discouraged by such Proceedings, endeavoured by all kind of Means, to gain the Czar's Friendship. He did for that Purpose send to him in *August*, 1717, Admiral *Norris* and Mr. *Whitworth*, both known, and, as his Majesty thought, acceptable to him; but the Whole was again set aside, by proposing on his Part that Alliance, in which it was known the King could never enter, and which was made the more impracticable, by the Condition they continued to insert in it, that the *British* Squadron should be under the Command of the Czar's Admirals.

Though as Things stood, his Majesty had Reason to believe that the Memorial which was presented to him by the Resident in Summer, 1718, making mention of the Czar's Inclinations to live in Friendship with him, was no more than an Artifice to cover the Negotiations and Intrigues before mentioned; yet that nothing might be wanting on his Part, he took Occasion from thence, to send Mr. *Jefferyes* his Resident to *Peterburgh*, and even ordered Admiral *Norris* to go thither likewise; but the Admiral being failed from the *Baltick*, on his Return to *England*, before Mr. *Jefferyes* arrived at *Copenhagen*, he proceeded on his Journey without him. He omitted nothing that might bring to effect the good Disposition he had been assured he should find in the Czar; but those Assurances soon appeared to be a further Amusement: For instead of making any Proposals to him, he was asked what he had to offer? And when he spoke of re-establishing antient Friendship, and of concluding a Treaty of Commerce, he was told that an Alliance must first be thought of, and a Plan settled for the Operations of a War against *Sweden*; which Proposal, it was well known, could never be admitted by *British* Ministers.

The Designs concerted at *Aland* with Baron *Gortz*, being at length entirely overthrown, by the King of *Sweden's* Death; the Czar not finding in the Princess, who succeeded him, any Disposition to pursue such unjust and dangerous Schemes, resolved to compel her to it by Force, and by such violent Extremities as are scarce to be parallel'd. Being full of this Imagination, he



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he was alarmed at the Fleet his Majesty was obliged to send yearly into the *Baltick*, to protect the Trade of his Subjects : He demanded in an imperious and threatening Manner, upon what Design this was done ; and he wrote to Admiral *Norris* in such Language, as the Crown of *Great-Britain* has not been used to.

However the King made no other Return to all these Proceedings, but mild Applications and Offers of his Mediation by the Lord *Carteret* and Admiral *Norris* ; whilst the Czar would not so much as receive their Letters on this Subject, on Pretence that they had no Credentials to him ; an Objection which none of the other Powers, engaged in the War against *Sweden*, had started, though their Case was exactly the same.

To avoid whatever might exasperate, nothing shall be said here of the ill Treatment of his Majesty's Subjects in the Czar's Dominions, of *British* Seamen forced to serve on board the *Russian* Fleet, of Artificers denied the Liberty of returning to their Country, of Merchants confined without Cause, and of Ships and Cargoes seized, and confiscated without Law or Justice.

His Majesty still persists in the same Sentiments of Moderation towards the Czar, desiring to live in Friendship and good Correspondence with him, and to be able to incline him to restore Tranquility in the North. With this View, he again offers his Mediation, hoping the Czar will not be the only Prince in *Europe* that opposes so just and salutary a Design. It may be said that nothing can be more suitable to his Interest, since this is proposed to be attained by procuring a Peace, that will secure to him a considerable Part of his Conquests. His Majesty hopes that so knowing a Prince as the Czar, will not only moderate his Pretensions for the Advancement of the Peace in general, but will likewise distinguish, that it is more becoming his Prudence, to secure to himself by good Treaties, and by the Consent of other great Powers, such considerable Tracts of Land, the Cession of which, it is hoped, may be procured from the Crown of *Sweden*, than to expose the Fruits of all his happy Success to the Events of a War, in which he will stand alone. *Sweden* neither ought  
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nor can yield up *Revel* to him; but though the Czar should restore that Place, he would still remain possessed of other Ports, and of a vast Extent of Territory along the Coasts of the *Baltick* Sea.

The Complaisance which the King is willing to shew, in being the Mediator of a Treaty that should procure such Advantage to the Czar, is an invincible Proof of the Disposition his Majesty is in to live in Amity with him; and if the Publick should find any fault in such a Conduct, it would be, that in the Opinion of many, that Complaisance is carried too far. If after such Offers, the Czar persists in his Unwillingness to restore *Revel*, he will thereby only alarm all the other Powers, and unite most of them against him.

The King's sincere Desire to see a general Peace established, and his Earnestness to renew for that End his former Union with the Czar, induce his Majesty, upon this Occasion, to offer him friendly Advice, and to exhort him to give a serious Attention to it.

If unhappily, and contrary to all Expectation, these Advances and good Intentions of his Majesty should, through the Czar's Refusal, be ineffectual; and that the King, by Virtue of his Engagements with *Sweden*, which he is resolved to stand by, should find himself obliged to enter upon Measures disagreeable to the Czar, he will satisfy himself with having omitted nothing on his Part, that might prevent the grievous Consequences which may ensue.

*Done at Whitehall, the 11th of February, 1719-20.*

STANHOPE.

His Majesty has ordered Answer to be returned to the Memorial presented by the Resident *Wesselowski*, as far as that Memorial concerns him, in the Quality of Elector. That he was very much surprized to see the Reproaches contained in it, because he has not deserved them from his Czarish Majesty, whose Friendship he has always cultivated very carefully, as well before as since his Accession to the Crown.

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It is not his Majesty who has deviated from the Treaty of 1715 ; on the contrary, it is his Czarish Majesty who has departed from it, seeing nothing could be more against it, than his coming to establish himself in the Empire with an Army, and to possess himself of Provinces contiguous to his Majesty's Dominions in *Germany*. It may be remembred, that his Majesty observing the *Russian Troops* in *Mecklenbourg*, a Magazine formed at *Rostock* for their Subsistence, and the Country ruined by their Exactions, discharged towards his Czarish Majesty the Office of a Friend and an Ally, by causing to be represented to him the Prejudice he was doing himself by such a Proceeding, and the Danger he was in, by drawing upon himself the Head and the Members of the Empire.

Those who consider the Rank which his Majesty holds, as well in the Empire as in the Circle, and the Interest he had in the Tranquility of his Neighbourhood, will doubtless judge, that such Instances were not only founded in Justice and Equity, but likewise that his Majesty could not avoid making them, and that he was obliged to it by all Manner of Reasons. Accordingly, it was much wondered it did not produce any Effect, and that the Czar's Ministers should seek only to gain Time, and to amuse the World with illusory Promises of a March of their Master's Troops, without ever fixing a Term for that March. It even appeared plainly, that those Instances of the King gave rise to that Animosity of the Czar against his Majesty, which has since broke out on so many Occasions. One Effect of it was the Interview which the Czar and his Ministers had at *Loo*, with Baron *Gortz*, who had been newly dismissed from his Confinement at *Arnheim* ; seeing that Baron was then intrusted to bring about a separate Peace between the Czar and the King of *Sweden*. His Czarish Majesty did not only not communicate that Interview at all to the King, but when the Resident *Weber* spoke of it a little after to his Ministers at *Petersburgh*, they thought fit to deny it : And yet it was that Interview which gave Birth to the Congress at *Aland*, which was formed without his Majesty's Knowledge ; inso-

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much, that when M. *Osterman* set out to go thither in the Month of *January* 1718, he denied the Matter with Oaths to the Resident *Weber*, and assured him he was going to *Moscow*, where his Czarish Majesty then was. The Czar would never admit his Majesty's Minister to the Conferences at *Aland*, nor impart to him what was treating there; nor will this be wondered at, if it be considered, that his Czarish Majesty was framing Plans there, the Drift of which was no less than to unite his Forces with those of the King of *Sweden*, for carrying the War into his Majesty's Dominions in *Germany*, and for invading *Scotland* after the Conquest of *Norway*. It was the Interview at *Loo*, and several other suspicious Proceedings of the Czar, that induced his Majesty to send into *Sweden* the Counsellor *Schrader*, to endeavour to discover, whether there was any Ground for the Rumours which were spread of a separate Peace, ready to be concluded between his Czarish Majesty and *Sweden*. It is affirmed in the Memorial, that those secret Negotiations of his Majesty, determined the Czar to form the Congress at *Aland*; whereas it is publickly well known, that the Czar's two Plenipotentiaries set out from *Petersburgh* in the Middle of the Month of *January* 1718, and Counsellor *Schrader* did not begin his Journey till the Month of *March* the same Year. His Stay at *Lunden* in *Schonen* was but for three Weeks, and he did not see the King of *Sweden*, who was then at *Stromstat*. The Death of that King happening at the End of the Year 1718, his Czarish Majesty took thereupon a Resolution to make the utmost Efforts to oppress *Sweden*, and force it to accept the Conditions which he should please to prescribe. No Man is ignorant of the Ravages and Burnings which he caused to be made for gaining his Point. He sent M. *Osterman* to *Stockholm*, instructed to promote exorbitant Terms: But if his Czarish Majesty did then employ both Force and Negotiation, it was only for procuring his own separate Peace. His *Britannick* Majesty's Interests were no part of the Question; on the contrary, the Business in Hand was, after the Conclusion of the Czar's Peace with *Sweden*, to take Measures with that Crown for coming into the Empire

Empire with united Forces, and recovering for the *Swedes* what they had lost there.

In this Situation, or to speak more properly, in this Extremity, his *Britannick* Majesty thought it time at last to look to himself, and hinder the Ruin of a Protestant Kingdom, in uniting with it by Alliances. But this was done without proceeding to any Hostilities against his Czarish Majesty. On the contrary, the King offered him his Mediation, which he had the more Right to do, because *Great-Britain* was never engaged with the War in the North, and because this Mediation had been accepted by the Queen of *Sweden*.

It is manifest, therefore, that if the King has prevented the Czar, by his Treaty with *Sweden*, he was authorized, not to say forced to do it, by the many Proceedings of that Prince, who had for so long a Time been treating of Peace, in Exclusion of his Majesty, in a publick Congress formed without his Consent, and was on the Point of putting *Sweden* under a Yoke. His Majesty's *British* Ministers will take care to set forth, in the Answer which they will deliver to the Resident, his Majesty's just Causes of Complaint, in the Quality of King of *Great-Britain*.

In the mean Time, it depends wholly on the Czar to re-establish entirely Friendship and good Intelligence, and to let the Troubles of the North cease, by making Use of a Mediation, which has no other Aim than to put an end to them, and in their Room to settle Peace and Tranquillity. Done at St. *James's* the 21st of *January* 1720.

These Answers were not without a Reply from the Czar; but Order of Time obliges us to refer that to the Close of the next Year.

His Czarish Majesty, ever watchful over the Welfare of his People, this Year ordered that Pest of Society, the Jesuits, to be banished his Dominions. These reverend Fathers, who have an admirable Art of getting into all Places where they can have any Prospect of Gain, had spared no Pains to introduce themselves into *Russia*, where the great Superstition of the People was like to prove an inexhaustible Fund for ecclesiastical



Exactions : They had had found Means to get a Recommendation from the Emperor ; but there being at this Time a Coldness between the Courts of *Petersburgh* and *Vienna*, his Czarish Majesty caused the following Order to be affixed at the Door of the Roman Catholick Church.

**H**IS Czarish Majesty having always maintained good Friendship with the Imperial Court, till the Imperial Resident *Pleyer*, began a dangerous Correspondence with the *Russian* Subjects, his Majesty found it necessary to desire he might be recalled ; which being done accordingly, the said Resident was allowed to stay four Weeks and above at *Petersburgh*, and to continue his Correspondence ; whereas on the contrary, the *Russian* Resident at *Vienna*, *Wesselowsky*, and the Agent at *Breslaw*, were obliged instantly to retire out of the Emperor's Dominions ; which unfriendly Behaviour of the Imperial Court has induced his Czarish Majesty to use Reprisals ; and therefore all Jesuits are earnestly commanded, by Virtue of these Letters Patents, to quit the *Russian* Dominions within four Days after having Notice given them, the World being sufficiently apprized of their dangerous Machinations, and how common it is for them to meddle with political Affairs.

After this Treatment, Posterity is not to expect that the writing Jesuits will bestow any Encomiums on this wise Monarch ; who, in the Midst of the most important Affairs, did not neglect to improve even the Diversions of his Court, and this Year caused several Assemblies to be opened at *Petersburgh*, and had the following Regulations printed in the *Russian* Tongue.

*Regulations for keeping Assemblies at Petersburgh.*

**A**SSEMBLY is a *French* Term, which cannot be rendered in *Russian* in one Word : It signifies a Number of Persons meeting together, either for Diversion, or to talk about their own Affairs. Friends may see each other on that Occasion, to confer together on Business or other Subjects ; to enquire after domestick and

and foreign News, and so to pass their Time. After what Manner he will have those Assemblies kept, may be learned from what follows.

I. The Person at whose House the Assembly is to be in the Evening, is to hang out a Bill or other Sign, to give Notice to all Persons of either Sex.

II. The Assembly shall not begin sooner than four or five in the Afternoon, nor continue later than ten at Night.

III. The Master of the House is not obliged to go to meet his Guests, to conduct them out, or to entertain them; but though himself is exempt from waiting on them, he ought to find Chairs, Candles, Drink, and all the Necessaries asked for; as also, to provide for all Sorts of Gaming, and what belongs thereto.

IV. No certain Hour is fixed for any Body's coming or going; it is sufficient if one make his Appearance in the Assembly.

V. It is left to every one's Liberty to sit, walk, or play, just as he likes; nor shall any body hinder him, or take Exception at what he does, on Pain of emptying the *great Eagle*, [a Bowl filled with Wine and Brandy]: As for the rest, it is enough to salute at coming and going.

VI. Persons of Rank, as for Instance, Noblemen, and superior Officers; likewise Merchants of Note, and Head-Masters (by which are chiefly understood, Ship-builders) Persons employed in the Chancery, and their Wives and Children, shall have Liberty of frequenting the Assemblies.

VII. A particular Place shall be assigned to the Footmen (those of the House excepted) that there may be sufficient Room in the Apartments designed for the Assembly.

At these Assemblies there is dancing in one Room, playing at Cards in another, or Draughts, or Chess, in which last Game the meanest *Russians* excel; in a third Room there is commonly Company smoking, and discoursing together; and in the fourth are Ladies and Gentlemen, diverting themselves with Questions and Commands, Cross-purposes, and such like little Plays

that promote good Humour and Laughter. Although none of the Company are obliged to drink more Wine or Brandy than what they ask for, except on transgressing the established Rules or Laws of the Assembly, which happens very often; yet there are many *Russians*, who lay hold of that Opportunity of making much of themselves at other Mens Cost, and look upon *Assemblies* as one of the most laudable of the late Czar's Innovations. It falls to the Turn of every great Man of the Court to keep an Assembly once in a Winter at least; and if the Czar pitches upon a particular Person for it, Notice is given to him by the Master of the *Police*.

Plays and Opera's are now brought to some tolerable Degree of Perfection at *Peterburgh*, but were performed in a very rude and awkward Manner in the Czar *Peter's* Time, who had no Relish for Entertainments of that kind; but, however, was for encouraging them, as he thought they might help to soften the natural Moroseness of his People.

All the great Designs of his Czarish Majesty had this Year like to have been finished, by a violent Fit of the Cholick, that threatened the Life of this mighty Prince, while he was at *Revel*, whither he went to hasten the Equipment of his Fleet, and complete the Fortifications of that Place, which he intended to render one of the best Fortresses in *Europe*; but the Vigour of his Constitution, and the Help of Medicine, once more restored him to add more Glories to a Reign already replete with Wonders.

*The End of the Second Book.*



## B O O K III.

## The C O N T E N T S.

*The Czar prepares for War. Negotiations in Poland. Queen of Sweden resigns her Crown to her Husband. The Czar's Minister presents a Memorial to the King of Great-Britain, and is ordered to depart that Kingdom. The British Fleet arrives in the Sound. Admiral Norris's Letter to Prince Dolgoruki, and his Answer. The Czar declines the Mediation of the King of Great-Britain. An Officer arrives from Sweden, to notify the Accession of the Prince of Hesse Cassel to the Throne; who is desirous of Peace. The Swedish Vice-Admiral attacks the Czar's Fleet and is beaten. A Naval Triumph at Petersburg on that Account. The Russians commit great Ravages in Sweden. The Czar makes some Proposals for a Suspension of Arms, and an Exchange of Prisoners, which are rejected; upon which he continues his Preparations for the War. Receives the Duke of Holstein under his Protection. Offers to accept of the Mediation of France. A Congress is appointed at Niestadt in Finland. The Czar sends a new Chart of the Caspian-Sea to the Royal Academy at Paris. Peace concluded between Russia and Sweden. The Swedish Prisoners set at Liberty. The Czar is requested to take upon him the Title of Emperor. A solemn Thanksgiving for the Peace.*

**W**ITH the New-Year his Czarish Majesty began to make new Preparations for the Campaign, seeing himself abandoned by all his Allies, and forced to maintain alone the War

with *Sweden*, supported by an *English* Fleet; favoured by the Kings of *Prussia* and *Denmark*, and ready to make her Peace with *Poland*. These Preparations began with calling together a very considerable Army on the Side of *Finland*, and endeavouring with a numerous Fleet to make himself Master of the *Bothnick Gulph*.

The Diet of *Poland* being assembled, sent the Palatine of *Mazovia* Ambassador to his Czarish Majesty, with Instructions to demand Satisfaction for the Damages done to several Provinces by the Marches and Countermarches of the *Russian* Troops; by the Contributions they had raised; the Horses and Cattle they had carried off, and other Exactions, of which his Czarish Majesty had ordered Informations to be given, that he might punish the Officers who had done or suffered these Disorders. He likewise represented, that the Republick had carried their Patience as far as possible, by contenting themselves only to make their Complaints, while the Nobility were for getting on Horseback, to rid themselves of the Injuries that were done them by the *Russians*.

The Czar, who had some Pretensions on *Poland* that he did not care to relinquish, and who knew, on the other Side, the Interest which the Emperor took in the Affairs of King *Augustus*, was obliged to act with great Caution, for fear the *Poles* should also think of reconciling themselves to *Sweden*, in which Case they might unite their Arms against *Russia*, and insist on the Restitution of *Courland* and *Livonia*. He left the Management of this important Negotiation to Prince *Dolgoruki*, who had been many Years Ambassador in *Poland*: This Minister had therefore several Conferences with the Deputies of the Nobility, approved of by the King and the Senate. He gave them to understand, that the Czar his Master was very well inclined to enter into an Union and good Intelligence with *Poland*; but he desired first, to know whether the Letters that were sent in Answer to his were approved of by the Body of the Republick, since they were in such Terms as looked like a Declaration of War; Secondly, Whether the Treaty concluded at *Vienna*, between the Emperor and the King of *Poland*,



Poland, *was made by Consent of the Republick.* He afterwards demanded, that the City of *Dantzick* should be obliged to execute the Treaty made with the Regency, by which she was engaged to furnish a certain Number of Frigates to join the Naval Forces of the Czar.

The Deputies answered to the first Question, that it was publickly known, that at the same Time that it was not judged proper to continue any longer the last Diet at *Grodno*, but that their Deliberations should be transferred to the Diet of *Warsaw*, it was resolved that the King, the Primate in the Name of the Senators, and the Marechal of the *Nuncios* in the Name of the Nobility, should write to his Czarish Majesty as they had done: That those Letters contained nothing like a Declaration of War, but only a necessary Remonstrance, that if the *Russian* Troops still remained in the Kingdom, contrary to the repeated Promises of their being recalled, the Republick would be obliged to take proper Measures to prevent the entire Ruin of so many Provinces. That they were bound to protect the City of *Dantzick*, which the Czar had laid under such heavy Contributions ; and that they could explain themselves no otherwise on the Affairs of *Courland*, than by representing the antient Right of the Crown, which they were resolved to maintain.

To the second Question he answered, that the Republick had no Knowledge of the Treaty concluded at *Vienna* ; but as it was made since the Diet of *Grodno*, they could have no Part in it : But that if the King, as Elector of *Saxony*, had concluded any particular Treaty, he had a Right to it without rendering any Account to the Republick.

That as to his Czarish Majesty's Demand, with regard to the City of *Dantzick* ; as the Kings of *Poland* had always left them in full Possession of their Liberties and Privileges, and as the Republick had main and no naval Forces, nor ever obliged the Subjects of maritime Towns to arm any Vessels for them, they could not oblige the Citizens of *Dantzick* to make an Armament for the Czar. That if this was imported by any particular Treaty with the City, there had been already

great Difficulties on that Article, which ought to be examined.

In short, after many reciprocal Deductions of the Complaints on both Sides, the Deputies declared, that the Republick were resolved to make Use of the good Dispositions of the Queen of *Sweden* towards a Peace; her *Swedish* Majesty having already made some Advances to the King of *Poland*; and that the Republick invited his Czarish Majesty to conclude a Peace at the same Time, or discharge them from their Alliance; they offered him their Mediation, and assured his Majesty, that they should be always desirous to maintain a strict Friendship with him.

The Palatine of *Mazovia* made his publick Entry into *Petersburgh*, on the 5<sup>th</sup> of *March*. The Ceremony was very magnificent, and on the 7<sup>th</sup> he had an Audience of his Czarish Majesty, before whose Throne he made a Speech,

To felicitate him on the Success of his Arms over the common Enemy, and to assure him of the constant and inviolable Amity of the King of *Poland* and the Republick.

This Minister had several Conferences with those of his Czarish Majesty, who, to cut all short, told him, that their Master could not renounce his Pretensions to *Courland*, nor yield *Livonia* to the Republick; that the City of *Dantzick* must execute the Conventions made with the *Russian* Generals; and that the Council of Finances should examine into what was due from his Czarish Majesty to the Republick, and from the Republick to his Majesty.

While this passed at *Petersburgh*, the Treaty of Peace concluded with the King of *Prussia*, was signed at *Stockholm*, and another was carrying on with the King of *Denmark*. The States of the Kingdom of *Sweden* assembled, and the Queen, by a Generosity of which there have been few Examples, took the Crown from her own Head, to place it on that of the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse-Cassel*, her Royal Consort; who was crowned, to the general Satisfaction of all their Subjects. All these Measures tended little to Peace with the Czar;

on the contrary, the King of *Great-Britain*, now as firmly united with the Regent of *France*, as with the Crown of *Sweden*, had engaged him to pay the Subsidies which were due to it from the most Christian King ; so that at the Time when *Sweden* was at the lowest Ebb of Credit, she received six hundred thousand Crowns from the Court of *France*, with Assurances that the Subsidy, for the future, should be regularly paid : This Succour, joined to those of *England* and *Hanover*, made the *Swedes* take fresh Courage, and give his Czarish Majesty to understand, that he was not to expect Peace, unless he could bring them to it by Force ; which occasioned him to make new Efforts, by re-assembling his Troops in *Finland*, augmenting his Fleet, and making all Preparations to be in the Field before his Enemy.

In the mean Time the Czar's Resident, *Bestuchef*, presented a Memorial to his *Britannick* Majesty, which was a Reply to the two Answers of his Majesty, (one as King of *Great-Britain*, and the other as Elector of *Hanover*,) to the Memorial of *Wesselowski* : In this Piece there is a Recital of the whole Transactions of the War in the North, from the first Beginning of it to that Time ; and his Czarish Majesty undertakes to justify every Step he had taken in the whole Progress of it : But the Reflections that were made, in this Memorial, on the *British* Ministers, pretending that they were in an Interest different from that of their own Country, and the little Respect that is paid therein to his *Britannick* Majesty, were Reasons for giving no other Answer to it, than an Order to M. *Bestuchef* to depart the Kingdom.

After the Measures which the Court of *Great-Britain* had taken the Year before, it was to be expected that they would let no Time slip, in pushing on the Point they had in View : Accordingly, as soon as the Season of the Year permitted, the *British* Fleet arrived in the Sound, under the Command of Sir *John Norris*, who was ordered to join the *Swedish* Fleet, in Support of the Mediation, which his *Britannick* Majesty had offered for the Reconciliation of the Czar and the new King of

*Sweden*, as he had succeeded before in the Peace which was just then concluded between *Sweden* and *Denmark*: For this Reason, Admiral *Norris*, before he weighed Anchor in the Road of *Copenhagen*, wrote the following Letter to Prince *Dolgeruki*, the Ambassador of *Russia*.

S I R,

"THE King, my Master, has ordered me to come into these Seas with a Squadron of his Ships, to procure a just and reasonable Peace between the Crowns of *Sweden* and *Russia*: And his Majesty having always at Heart the Good of his own Subjects, and the Interest of those Nations that are in Friendship with them, very ardently desires to see so Christian, so necessary, and so valuable a Work accomplished. To this End, his Majesty has commanded me to notify to all the Ministers, Generals, and Admirals of his Czarish Majesty, the Renewal of the Offers he makes of his Mediation for re-establishing Peace between those Crowns. The King wishes that his Czarish Majesty would seriously examine into the State of his Affairs, and lend an Ear to just Conditions of an Accommodation: And that the good Dispositions of his Majesty may not be fruitless, for want of sufficient Power, he has given full Powers to his Ministers at *Stockholm*, and the same to me his Admiral, to treat in Concert, and in Quality of his Plenipotentiaries, on the Measures of acting as Mediators, and of endeavouring to conclude a just and reasonable Peace between those two Crowns. This, Sir, is what I would beg of you to represent to his Czarish Majesty, with the Assurances of my most humble Respects; and that I should think myself extremely honoured, to receive his Orders on this Occasion, &c."

Prince

Prince *Dolgoruki* made the following Answer to the *British* Admiral :

S I R,

I Received the Letter you sent me this Morning by your Secretary, by which I understand, that the King your Master has sent you into these Seas with a Squadron, to procure Peace between the Czar my Master and the Crown of *Sweden*. All that I can answer to it is, that his Czarish Majesty has nothing more at Heart than Peace and Repose, of which he has given visible and shining Proofs during the whole Course of the War. But as *Sweden* has not had the same Sentiments, the Continuation of the War can be attributed only to her. As to what you signify touching the Place and Method of Treating of this Peace, as I am not informed of his Majesty's Pleasure on that Subject, I can give you no Manner of Answer to it ; and if there is any Thing to be communicated to his Czarish Majesty, on the Part of the King of *Great-Britain*, as there are Ways much shorter to do it, I hope you will have the Goodness to excuse me from undertaking it, &c."

The Czar seemed determined not to accept of this Mediation ; but was willing to treat of Peace directly with *Sweden* ; or if there was to be a Mediator, he would admit of no other than the Emperor of *Germany*. On the other Hand, as there was no open Rupture between the Courts of *Petersburgh* and *London*, his Czarish Majesty was persuaded, that the *British* Admiral would keep himself only on the defensive, and therefore went not to seek his Fleet at Sea, but continued the Preparations he had been making for the next Campaign.

Behind the Intrenchments of *Abo*, in *Finland*, an Army was formed of eighty thousand Men, besides the flying Camp that was in other Parts of that Province ; and his Czarish Majesty, who would never allow himself to be a Moment idle, went from *Petersburgh* to *Cronstot*, and from that Fortrefs to *Revel*, to hasten the Equipment of his Fleet and Gallies, which were in so



fine Order, and so great Number, that the Palatine of *Mazovia*, at his Audience of Leave, could not forbear expressing his Admiration of them, in the Speech which he made to his Majesty, much to the following Purpose :

“ **M**OST serene, most powerful and great Lord, Czar and Autocrator of all *Russia*, the Ambassador Plenipotentiary of the most serene, most powerful and great Prince, *Augustus*, King of *Poland*, and of the *Republick*, is obliged to acknowledge, that whoever beholds your Czarish Majesty, beholds every Thing : All the World, Sire, look with Admiration on the Wonders of your Reign, and Posterity will hardly give Credit to them. Your Majesty is equally great in your warlike Enterprizes abroad, and the wise Government of your People at Home. Your invincible Armies, your building such powerful Fleets, and so many noble Fortresses, are admired on one Hand, as much as your Rules of Policy, the Foundations you have laid of Cities, Palaces, and other magnificent Edifices, are on the other. We, who are ocular Witnesses of them, shall not fail to recount these Wonders in our own Country. The King will hear the Report of them with so much the more Satisfaction, as we shall return to give him Hopes, that your Majesty will always maintain the Treaties you are entered into with him ; and above all, for our own Parts, we shall never forget, but preserve an eternal Acknowledgment of the Favours you have vouchsafed to shew us.

When this Ambassador went away, there arrived at *Petersburgh* an Adjutant-General from the new King of *Sweden*, named *Marc Wirtemberg*, whom his *Swedish* Majesty had sent to the Czar to notify his Accession to the Throne. This Minister had his Audience immediately, and in presenting the Letters with which he was charged, he made a very short Speech ; the Substance of which was, that the hereditary Prince of *Hesse-Cassel*, by the Consent of the Queen his Spouse, and of the States of the Kingdom, was ascended the Throne of *Sweden* ; that his Majesty had a particular Esteem for his

his Czarish Majesty, *with whom he very earnestly desired to conclude a firm and lasting Peace*, and maintain a constant Friendship, and good Neighbourhood, to which he was willing to contribute all that was in his Power. The Czar answered, to these Professions of Friendship and Esteem, that he heartily wished the King of *Sweden* Joy, on his Accession to the Throne, and thanked him for his Notification of it to him; and said, that as he was always very far from being against concluding a lasting Peace with *Sweden*, he had still the same Inclinations to it, provided his *Swedish* Majesty would also come to a firm Resolution on that Point.

The *Swedish* Officer, *Wirtemberg*, was kept for some Time at *Petersburgh*, that he might be Witness to the Preparations that were making, and of the Strength of his Czarish Majesty, without the Assistance of the Allies, who were fallen off. His Majesty ordered him to be shewn his Docks, Yards, Ships, and Gallies, his Palaces, and Part of his Troops; and having admitted him to a private Audience, and given him his Answer to the King of *Sweden's* Letter, ordered a Dispatch of the necessary Passports.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> of *August*, the *Swedish* Vice-Admiral, in the *Baltick*, approaching with his Squadron to reconnoitre the Fleet of his Czarish Majesty, commanded by Prince *Galiczin*, which was under *Ameland*, and not thinking the Number of Ships so large as it was, judged it proper to attack them; and one of his Gallies coming too near the Coast, touched on a Rock, where it struck, and was taken by two *Russian* Gallies, as was another that ran aground; this obliged the *Swedes* to stand aloof; and afterwards, by the continual firing of the *Russians* to retreat, with the Loss of two Frigates taken from them, and the other two fastened on the Sand-Banks; so that there was taken from them, on this Occasion, one hundred and fifty Pieces of Cannon, four hundred Men, Sailors, in good Health, two hundred were killed, and three hundred wounded. The four Frigates were afterwards carried in Triumph to *Petersburgh*; at which Ceremony, his Czarish Majesty, and the Czarina, being returned to their Capital, from a small

small Tour they had made to *Wybourg*, were present, and the Show was exhibited with the greatest Pomp that was possible, because no Victories were so much prized by the Czar as those that he gained at Sea, which he hoped would encourage his Subjects to apply themselves to maritime Affairs.

The Procession was in the following Manner : Three *Russian* Gallies advanced first as far as the Bridge of the *Trinity* Church, where they landed a Part of the *Swedish* Prisoners ; the four Vessels taken from the Enemy came next, and cast Anchor before the Bridge, being saluted by the Artillery of two Fortresses, which fired as many Times as there were Guns taken in these Vessels. These were followed by three other *Russian* Gallies, that landed the rest of the *Swedish* Prisoners. When all the Prisoners were brought together upon the Bridge, on which were posted some Companies of the *Preobrazinski* Guards, they were carried to the Pyramid, erected on this Occasion, painted with several Devices, Mottoes, &c. and afterwards led by the Colleges and Shops, and then led to the Fortrefs. This Ovation ended with fine Fire-works in the Evening, Balls, and Masquerades, and a most splendid Entertainment, which the Czar gave to the Nobility and Gentry for that and the two following Days, and in which the Mock-Czar and the Mock-Patriarch performed their Parts, according to their different Characters. There was likewise a Medal struck on Account of this Victory, on one Side of which was the Bust of his Czarish Majesty, and on the Reverse the Representation of a Naval Fight, and this Inscription : *Prudence and Valour surmount all Obstacles*. His Majesty also, to encourage his Subjects in doing their Duty, when the like Opportunities offered, made a Present to Prince *Galiczin* of a Sword set with Diamonds, valued at thirty thousand Florins, and distributed a Sum of Money to the same Amount among those Officers and Soldiers who had signalized their Valour.

The Land Forces remained not inactive this while : Prince *Galiczin* had in vain attempted an Invasion in *Sweden* as soon as the Frost broke, and advanced with his Gallies as far as *Aland*, from whence he sent Brigadier

dier *Famerdins*, who came back without doing any Thing, being prevented from passing the *Bothnick-Gulph* by the Ice : However, this Expedition was not altogether uselefs, fince it drew on that Side all the Attention of the Enemy, and thereby favoured the Execution of another Design, with which the Prince charged Brigadier *Mengden*, who embarked at *Wasa*, on the Gallies, with about five thousand Men, with whom he sailed directly for the new Town of *Uma* in *Lapland*. At his Approach the *Swedes* immediately retired, and the *Cossacks*, who first landed, took four Officers and several Soldiers, that were in an advanced Post, Prisoners. The *Russians* afterwards fet fire to the new Town, in which there were several Magazines, and, penetrating into the Country on both Sides, burnt and destroyed two Gentlemens Country Seats ; forty-one Villages, containing above a thousand Houses ; seventeen Mills, one hundred and thirteen Magazines, and other Buildings. After this Expedition, the Detachment returned to *Wasa*, loaded with Spoil, and without suffering the least Loss. The *Swedes* on their Side, made a Descent on the Isle of *Nargen*, but did no great Damage there.

During these Hostilities his Czarish Majesty, to return the Compliment he had received from the King of *Sweden*, named Adjutant-General *Romanzoff* to go to *Stockholm*, to felicitate that Prince on his Accession to the Throne, and to let him know how true an Esteem he had always had for his Person, and how earnestly he desired to find in him the same Inclination to Peace that he had himself. Besides this Commission, he had Orders, if he found a favourable Opportunity, to propose an Exchange of Prisoners, and a Suspension of Arms for the Winter Season.

This Envoy was received at *Stockholm* with as much Splendor as that of his *Swedish* Majesty at *Petersburgh* : When he had delivered his Commission, he was answered in the most gracious Terms ; he afterwards made the particular Propositions with which he was charged to Count *Horn*, President of the Chancery ; but without Success ; for the Count answered him, that the King could



could not consent to an Exchange of Prisoners, at least till a Cartel was settled both for the present and for the Time to come, upon which he had no Instructions: As to the Suspension of Arms, the *Swedes* thought it needless, since the Winter always put a Stop, as the Count said, to all Hostilities in the North; but certainly in this he was much mistaken, for how often has it been seen that the *Russians* and *Swedes* took Advantage of the Ice; the first to pass the *Bothnick-Gulph*, the other to cross the *Sound*. The *Swedish* Minister added, that even if the Armistice required should be agreed to, it would be of no Use till the Preliminaries of Peace were settled. *Romanzoff* had no Instructions to go so far, but answered wisely that the Armistice might not only give Room for Overtures of Peace, but even terminate that great Work; adding, that another Means to contribute towards it would be to re-establish a Correspondence of Letters directly between *Russia* and *Sweden*; but he succeeded no better in this last Proposition than in the two former, which plainly shewed how little Inclination that Court had for Peace, since it refused so obstinately to enter into any Measures that might conduce to it. Nevertheless, M. *Romanzoff* had all imaginable Respect shewn to him, and as the Czar had kept M. *Wirtemberg* some Time at *Petersburgh*, carrying him with him wherever the Court went, the same Honours were done in *Sweden* to M. *Romanzoff*, who always made one in the Court Parties of Pleasure.

The Season of the Year now forced Admiral *Norris* to think of leaving the *Baltick*, where it may be said he had done *much* by suffering the *Russians* to do nothing. His Czarish Majesty, who did not doubt, on one Side, but this Fleet would return the Year following, and who was convinced, on the other, by the Conduct of the Court of *Sweden*, that they were to be constrained to sue for that Peace, which they rejected when offered to them, employed the rest of the Year in making Preparations for a decisive Campaign; and that he might have the less to fear from the *British* Fleet, he endeavoured, above all Things, to augment his Marine, and put himself in a Condition of facing his Enemies;

for



for which Reason he put upon the Stocks at once eight or ten Ships of the Line, of sixty or eighty Guns each ; and was so vigilant in seeing the Work carried on, that they were all ready and fit for Service the next Summer ; but, as we shall see by what follows, there was no need of them.

This was not the only Care which employed the Mind of the Czar, who, being persuaded that the War could not last long, turned his Thoughts on making Discoveries on the Coast of the *Tartarian-Sea* ; on establishing a good Understanding with the Emperor of *China*, and above all, on bringing to Perfection the Discoveries and Works began in the Mines of *Siberia*. Those whom he employed in these Works were able to assure his Majesty, that he had many and very rich Mines of Gold, Silver, Copper, and Lead in his Dominions, and by the Assays that had been made of the Ores, it was demonstrable that thirty or forty *per Cent*. Profit might be made by them. His Czarish Majesty made very wise and prudent Regulations for carrying on these Works, and sent for able Workmen from *England*, *Hungary*, and *Sweden*, to be employed in them.

The Czar was again, at the Close of this Year, as in the last, attacked with a violent Fit of the Cholick, which made his Life almost despaired of ; but Heaven still preserved him to accomplish the great Work of Peace, to confirm his Conquests, and farther to establish the useful Regulations he had made in his Empire.

M. *Stamke*, the Minister of the Duke of *Holstein*, had been some Time at *Petersburgh* : This Prince being Son of the eldest Sister of the late King of *Sweden*, [*Charles XII.*] pretended a Right to the Crown preferably to the Princess *Ulrica*, who was the younger Sister ; but beside a Law which took from him all Claim to it, on Account of his Mother's having married a foreign Prince, the States of *Sweden* had resumed their antient Right of electing their Kings, by which that of Hereditary Succession was abolished ; but the Duke of *Holstein* did not care to submit to this, yet saw himself set at a still greater Distance from the Throne,  
by

by the Cession which the Queen had made of the Crown to the Prince of *Hesse*, her Husband: Nevertheless, he had a Party in *Sweden*, of whose good Dispositions towards him he was willing to take Advantage, but had not Strength enough to afford them much Assistance himself; and on the other Hand, the King of *Denmark* had just taken from him the Dutchy of *Sleswick*, which was guaranty'd to him by the King of *England*. In this Embarrassment he was advised to have Recourse to the Czar, who was the Enemy of *Sweden*, and had but little Reason to be pleased with the King of *Denmark*, as he had lately made a separate Peace with that Nation, and who had been so much offended at the Conduct of the King of *Great-Britain*, that he desired nothing more than an Opportunity of shewing his Resentment. M. *Stamke* made the most of all these Circumstances, to obtain the powerful Protection of the Court of *Russia* for the Prince his Master, who waited at *Breslaw* to learn the Success of this Negotiation. All these Reasons, with the Compassion his Czarish Majesty had for the unfortunate Circumstances of this Prince, who was designed by *Charles* for his Successor, the Esteem he had for the late Duke his Father, and a Desire of repairing the Injuries done to one of his Ancestors, by a Predecessor of his Majesty, made him determine very soon to afford him his Protection, and for the first Proof of it, sent him a hundred thousand Crowns, and an Invitation to come from *Breslaw* to *Riga*.

Nothing could be more happy than the Prospect of Affairs in the Beginning of the Year 1721, since all Things tended towards Peace. The Journey of Adjutant-General *Romanzoff* was so far from being useless, that it may be said to have produced the great Work: The Talents he was Master of, as well to persuade as to negotiate, had been already experienced in the Business of the Czarewitz *Alexis Petrovitz*, and he being thoroughly informed of his Sovereign's Inclination to Peace, knew how to make it appear to Count *Horn*, that the Czar's most sensible Affliction was, that he should be constrained to ravage, to pillage, and ruin the Provinces of *Sweden*, to oblige the King to accept of the

the reasonable Terms he offered him. It is true that he rested here on general Terms, without coming to Particulars ; but although the *Swedes* had at first refused to grant a Suspension of Arms, or to agree to an Exchange of Prisoners, yet they afterwards kindly received Prince *Miserfski*, who was sent to them, after the Return of *M. Romanzoff*, with Propositions for settling a Cartel. This Step of his Czarish Majesty convinced the *Swedish* Ministry of the Sincerity of that Prince, who being on the conquering Side, and gaining continual Advantages over them, did not seem under any Necessity of courting his Enemies to make Peace : But PETER's Greatness of Soul was not confined to the ordinary Maxims of Policy ; he saw, in the midst of his Conquests, that his People wanted Peace, and was resolved to undertake any thing to procure it for them ; he thought there was nothing mean in asking for Peace, when he was really endeavouring to bestow it on a Nation that stood more in need of it than himself. Prince *Miserfski*, on his Return to *Petersburgh*, was immediately followed by *M. Dahlman*, the *Swedish* Adjutant-General, who, under Pretence of settling the Terms of the Cartel in the same Manner as he had done in *Denmark*, took an Opportunity to speak of a Peace, and let it be understood that if his Czarish Majesty would continue the Armistice for the whole Year, the King of *Sweden* would readily come into it. The Czar, who had already made Preparations, and regulated the Operations for the Campaign, apprehended that this might be only a Trap laid for him ; and judged, with good Reason, that a Suspension of Arms for a whole Year would be giving so much Time to his Enemies to take fresh Measures, to make new Alliances, and to augment their Forces, that thereby they might become more powerful than ever ; and so the Peace, instead of being forwarded, by those Means might be the longer delayed : And therefore he rejected the Proposition ; but let the *Swedish* Minister know at the same Time, that he was not against accepting the Mediation of *France*, which *M. Campredon*, the Minister of that Crown at *Stockholm*, had in some sort offered to him. This Declaration was enough ; the Court of *Sweden* were

were no sooner informed of it, than they caused M. *Campredon* to set out for *Petersburgh*, to know what were the Propositions of his Czarish Majesty. This Minister found the *Russian* Monarch in the same Disposition he was before the Congress of *Aland*; although any other Prince would have taken Occasion, from the Advantages gained since that Time, from the Expence which the Obstinacy of his Enemies had put him to, and from the Diminution of their Strength, to have insisted on higher Terms; but his Czarish Majesty acted with more Generosity: He proposed to M. *Campredon* the same Conditions with which M. *Osterman* was charged when he sent him to *Stockholm*, and the same that he had proposed to the King of *Great-Britain*. The *French* Minister being returned into *Sweden*, a Place was immediately after named for the Congress, which was *Niestadt*, or *Nieußadt*, a little Town in *Finland*, some Leagues from *Abo*; the Czar himself preferred this Place to *Abo*, with regard to the *Swedish* Ministers, who, he imagined, might not be well pleased to see the Preparations that were carrying on there against their Country.

It was during the Time of this Negotiation, that the Czar received the agreeable News from *Constantinople*, that his Minister there had changed the last Treaty concluded with the *Porte* into a Treaty for a perpetual Peace: The Ratifications of which were immediately dispatched, and the sooner, because his Majesty was just then informed of the Grand Signor's Orders to the *Cham* of *Tartary*, to stop the Incursions of his People into the *Russian* Provinces, or that they were not to expect his Highness's Protection.

As to the Treaty with *Sweden*, his Czarish Majesty could not but apprehend that the *British* Ministers would do what they could to oppose it; for which Reason he resolved, by a refined Stroke in Politicks, to endeavour to sow a Dissension between that Nation and her Ministers, who, he pretended, were entirely governed by the Ministers of *Hanover*, whose Interest, he would have had it thought, they had alone at Heart;

Heart; and with this View published the following Ordinance :

“ **I**T is notorious in what an unjust and disobliging Manner our Resident was sent back from the Court of *Great-Britain*; which being so great and sensible an Affront, it would naturally have engaged us to have made Reprisals, according to the Custom of other Princes, but that we saw very plainly, that this was done without any Regard to the Interest of *England*, and only in Favour of that of *Hanover*, for which the Ministers of *Great-Britain* not only neglect the Friendship of Foreign Powers, but even spare not their own Country, in what the most nearly and sensibly concern it. It is for this Reason, that we are unwilling that any Damage should accrue from thence to the *English* Nation, who had no Share in this unjust Proceeding; and therefore we allow all Security to that Nation, and full Power to trade to all Parts of our Dominions.”

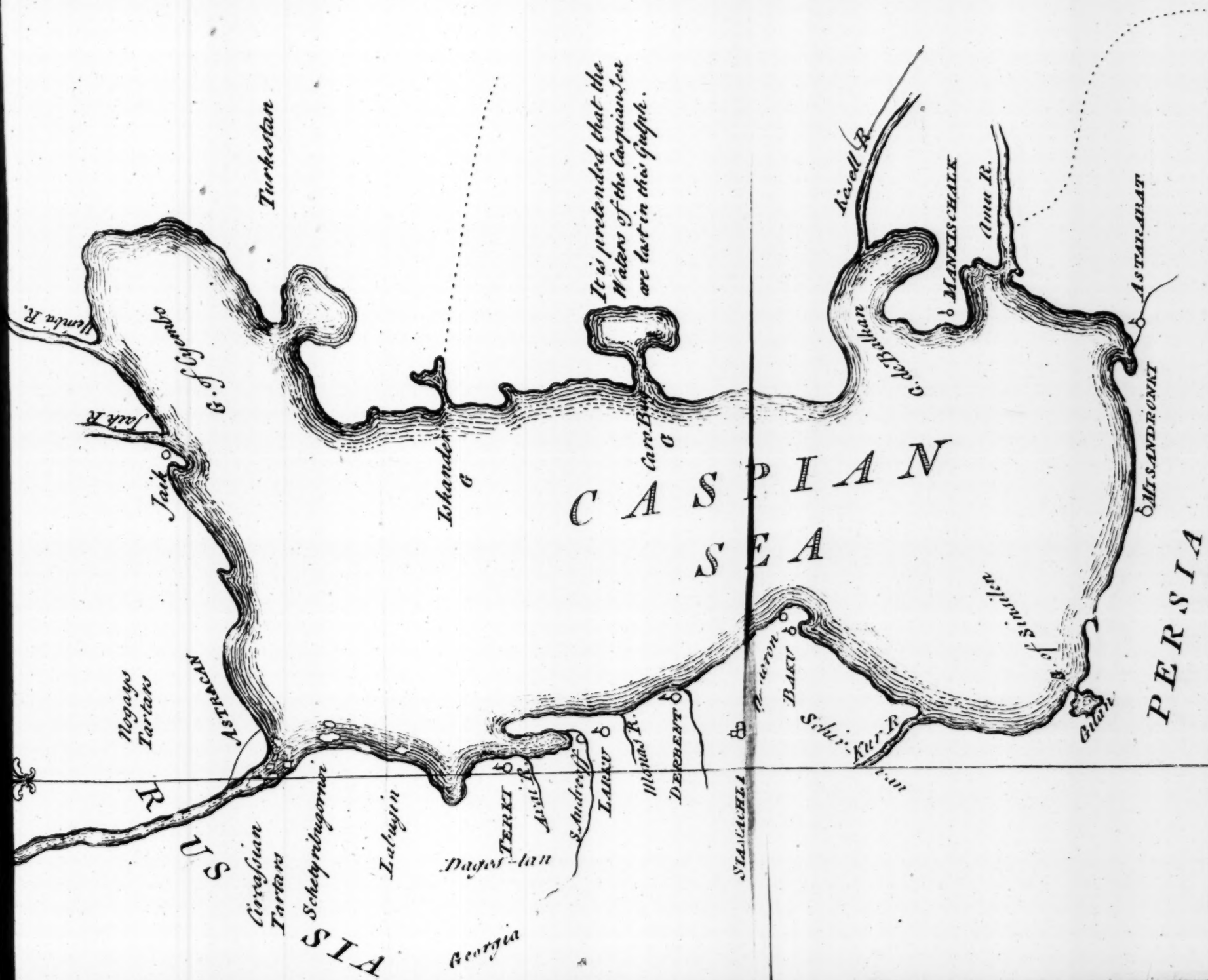
The Reflections thrown upon the *British* Ministers were so fully refuted in the Answer formerly given to the Memorial of M. *Wesselowski*, that it seemed a little surprising that his Czarish Majesty should again revive them; as was the great Resentment which he expressed at his Minister, M. *Besstechuf*'s being sent away from the Court of *Great-Britain*, which is no unusual Thing, when publick Ministers do not keep within the Bounds of that Respect which is due to the Powers to whom they are sent. But, to say no more of this, the Plenipotentiaries on both Sides were soon after named, and ordered to repair to *Neissadt*. The King of *Sweden* named Count *Liliensted* and General *Stromfield*, and the Czar committed his Affairs to General *Bruce* and the Privy-Counsellor *Osterman*, whom he honoured with the Title of Baron.

It was about this Time, that the Czar examined into the Disorders that were crept into the Offices for the Receipt of Money in his Dominions, where, notwithstanding there were several hundred Inspectors, he was able to make such a Reformation, as was not only a great Ease to his People, but to gain above a hundred thousand  
Roubles



Roubles a Year to the Imperial Treasury. At the same Time also, the general Tariff was prepared, which was afterwards introduced into all the Ports of *Russia*: But no Business more employed his Majesty's Care, than to perfect the Canal that was begun below *Ladoga*, and was to make a Communication between the *Baltick* Sea and the River *Volga*, which falling into the *Caspian* Sea, he was in hopes would enable him to open a Trade with *China*, the *Indies*, and *Persia*, and supply them with *European* Commodities; but as this was a Work that required larger Sums of Money than could be well spared in a Time of War, it was one strong Motive, among many others, to make him desire the Accomplishment of his pacifick Measures; in the mean Time he sent ten thousand Dragoons, and as many *Calmucks* to assist in the Undertaking. Some Time before this, he had sent certain Geographers and Astronomers to take an exact Survey of the *Caspian*-Sea, of which they made the Chart, which is here given the Reader, and shews that Sea to be of a very different Form from what has been formerly represented by the Geographers. This Chart, with the following Letter, and another from his chief Physician, he sent to the *Royal Academy* of Sciences at *Paris*, by Mynheer *Schoumaker*, his Library Keeper, which were very gratefully received by them. The Librarian being introduced into the Academy by *M. de L'Isle*, the King of *France's* Geographer, and presenting his Letters, they were read by *M. de Fontenelle*, Secretary to the Academy; after which, the Marquis *de Croissy*, at that Time President, made a handsome Speech in the Name of all the Members, to return Thanks to his Czarish Majesty for the Honour he had done them; and it was ordered that the Chart should be carefully preserved among the Archives of the Academy. The Czar's Letter was written in *Latin*, and is thus translated:

“ **P**ETER, &c. by the Grace of GOD, Czar and  
 “ Sovereign Lord of all *Russia*, to the Royal  
 “ Academy of Sciences, Greeting. The Choice you  
 “ have made of our Person for a Member of your il-  
 “ lustrious



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lustrious Society, could not but be very agreeable to us. And we would not delay to acquaint you by these Presents, with what Joy and Gratitude we accept the Place you offer us in your Society, having nothing more at Heart, than to contribute our utmost to the Advancement of Arts and Sciences in our Kingdoms, in order to render ourselves the more worthy so honourable a Rank. With this View, we have charged the *Sieur Bleumentrost*, our chief Physician, to give you an exact Account of all Novelties that happen in our Empire worthy your Notice; assuring you, that on our Parts, we shall be very glad if you will correspond with him by Letters, and impart to him such new Discoveries as the Academy may make from Time to Time in the Sciences. There having never been a very exact Chart of the *Caspian-Sea*, we ordered Persons of the best Abilities to repair thither, and mark out one upon the Spot, with all possible Care, and we now send it to the Academy, being persuaded they will kindly accept it, in Remembrance of us. For the rest, we refer you to what our chief Physician will impart to you more at large by Letters, and our Library-Keeper by Word of Mouth.

*Your affectionate,*

Dated at Petersburg,  
Feb. 11, 1721.

PETER.

In the Month of *April*, the Duke of *Holstein* arrived at the *Russian* Court, which was then at *Riga*; where he was received in the most gracious Manner, his *Czar*-*li* Majesty promising to make his Interest his own, upon all Occasions. He was also well received by the *Czarina*, who arrived soon after, but had escaped a most imminent Danger in passing the Ice upon the River *Aa*, which broke immediately after she was got over, and was carried with great Violence into the Sea. The *Czar* made some short Stay at *Riga*, regulating several Things, with respect to the Inhabitants of *Livonia*, both

both Nobles and Peasants : His Majesty sent, at the same Time, Orders into *Courland*, as well for those Troops that were already there, as for those that were expected ; by which the *Polanders* perceived that they were not likely to recover that Province with so much Ease as they had hoped for.

M. *Campredon*, the *French* Minister, having passed through *Stockholm* to *Petersburgh*, had several Conferences with the Ministers of his Czarish Majesty, in which he omitted nothing that could be done, to procure a Suspension of Arms for that Year ; but for the Reasons before given, the Czar would not be brought to consent to it : He was given to understand, that his Czarish Majesty's Resolution was absolutely fixed ; that he would restore to *Sweden* all that was taken from it, except *Ingria* and *Livonia*, comprehending *Esthonia*, *Carelia*, and the City of *Wybourg*, and the District of *Helsingford* ; that his Majesty would abate nothing of these Articles, but if the *Swedes* were willing on these Conditions, the Conferences might begin ; that they saw what was demanded on his Side, and therefore the Suspension would be useless ; for if the King of *Sweden* would enter into a Treaty *bona Fide*, the Peace might be soon concluded. The Plenipotentiaries accordingly very soon repaired to *Niestadt*, where the Conferences were immediately begun, but not time enough to prevent the *Russian* Troops from making some Progress in *Sweden*.

Lieutenant-General *Leshy*, who commanded in *Finland*, set sail from *Aland*, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of May, and arrived the next Day on the Coast of *Sweden*, before a Place called *Eschun*, in the Neighbourhood of *Gövel*, where he landed the Troops he had on board his Gallies, consisting of five Thousand regular Men, and three hundred and seventy *Cossacks*. He marched at first along the Coast towards *Sunderham*, and afterwards as far as *Uma*, which is above a hundred *Swedish* Leagues, where he met with very little Resistance, having in all but eleven Men killed or wounded by the *Swedes*, who had about a hundred Men killed, and forty seven taken Prisoners. He took from them one Standard, four Colours,



Colours, two Pieces of Brass Cannon, and five of Iron ; three Trumpets, and ten Kettle-Drums ; he also took and burnt six new Gallies, two Merchant Men, and twenty-five other Vessels ; in which they found, besides other Goods, four hundred ninety seven Muskets, and about four thousand Ells of Linnen-Cloth : He burnt a Magazine of Arms and Ammunition, ruined a Manufactory of Muskets, two Iron Forges, and thirteen Mills ; and burnt and destroyed four Towns, five hundred and nine Hamlets, ninety-eight Parishes, three hundred and thirty-four Barns, &c. The Towns were *Underham, Gudwinkswald, Sunswald, and Ernslund.*

This Expedition alarmed all *Sweden* ; but the Czar, who desired nothing more than to spare the Blood of his subjects, caused the Suspension of Arms to be published as soon as he received Advice that his Plenipotentiaries had agreed to it, after having settled the Preliminaries of Peace. The King of *Sweden* having been brought to consent to the Cession of *Livonia* and *Carelia*, the Czar on his Side did not refuse certain Advantages to the *Swedes*, that were capable of making them some Amends for the Injuries he had done them. This Readiness on both Sides of coming into Measures with each other, soon put an End to their Conferences, by signing a Treaty, of which the following were the Articles.

1. There shall be a perpetual Peace and Friendship. Also a perpetual Amnesty, except for the *Cossacks*. Hostilities shall cease within three Weeks after signing the Peace. 4. *Sweden* yields *Livonia, Esthonia, Ingermanland*, part of *Carelia*, and of the Territory of *Wyburg* ; the Islands of *Oesel, Dragoë, Maen, &c.* On the other Side, the Czar restores to *Sweden* part of *Finland*, and gives his *Swedish* Majesty two Millions of six-dollars, payable at two different Terms, conformably to a separate Article. 5. That Part of *Finland* shall be evacuated to the *Swedes* in the Space of four Weeks after the Exchange of the Ratifications. 6. The *Swedes* shall be permitted to buy every Year fifty thousand Roubles-worth of Corn at *Riga, Revel, and Wyburg*, and to transport it without paying any Duties of Export, except in such Years when the Harvest proves

bad, or some other solid Reason hinders it. 7. The Czar will not concern himself with any Domestic Affairs of *Sweden*, especially in regard to the Regulations made touching the Form of the Government. 8. The Limits described by the Treaty shall be regulated by Commissaries after the Ratifications are exchanged. 9. *Livonia*, *Estonia*, and the Isle of *Oesel* shall have the same Privileges they enjoy'd under former Governments. 10. The Exercise of Religion shall remain as formerly, except that the *Greek* shall be introduced. 11. Every one shall enjoy the Estates and Effects which he can prove of Right to belong to him. 12. The Confiscations, Inheritances, and Possessions shall be restored, except the Revenues already escheated. Those who are desirous to do Homage to the Czar may do so without being thereby incapacitated to serve elsewhere; but those who will not do Homage to the Czar shall have Liberty to dispose of their Estates in the Space of three Years, and all Mortgages shall be paid off and discharged. 13. The Contributions shall cease forthwith in *Finland*; but the *Russian* Troops shall be supplied with necessary Provisions, till they are arrived at the Frontiers. The Czar may carry away the Cannon and the Inhabitants shall be obliged to furnish Horse for that Purpose. 14. The Prisoners on both Sides shall be released without Ransom, provided they pay their Debts; but such as had rather stay shall be permitted to do so. 15. The King of *Poland* is included in the Treaty, and a Negotiation shall be entered into with him by the Mediation of the Czar. 16. As for Commerce, the *Swedes* shall be treated on the same Footing with the Nations that are most befriended. 17. The Houses of Commerce shall be re-established, and new ones built in the Towns that are restored. 18. The Article relates to the Manner of succouring Ships in Danger of being wrecked, and to the Disposition of Goods that shall be saved from Shipwreck. 19. The Article regards the Salutations of Vessels on both Sides either when they meet or pass before any Place of Strength. 20. The Expences of the Ministers of either Side shall not for the future be defrayed by the Com-

where

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where they reside. 21. In this Article the King of *Great-Britain* is included, in such Sort, that the Differences between their *Britannick* and *Czarish* Majesties shall be amicably adjusted; and either Party shall be allowed, within the Space of three Months after the Exchange of the Ratifications, to name those whom they would have comprehended in this Treaty. 22. Whatever Differences may arise, they shall not any ways derogate from this present Treaty. 23. All Deserters and Malefactors shall be delivered on the first Demand. 24. The Ratifications shall be exchanged in three Weeks after signing the Treaty.

These Articles were signed, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of *August*, 1721, O. S. by

*John Liliensfeld,*  
*Otho Reinhold,*  
*Stromfield,*

*Jacob-Daniel Bruce,*  
*Henry-John-Frederick*  
*Osserman.*

The *Swedish* Plenipotentiaries endeavoured to have the King of *Great-Britain* included in the Treaty, as Elector of *Hanover*; and on that Condition, the *Russian* Plenipotentiaries proposed that the Dukes of *Holslein* and *Mecklenbourg* should be comprehended in it; but after some Debates in the first Conferences, wherein the Duke of *Holslein's* Affairs were mentioned, the *Swedes* declared they could not treat of any Thing concerning that Prince, and so rejected the Proposition; which made the *Russians* do the same with respect to the Elector of *Hanover*, and the Business was mentioned no more.

What Joy the Conclusion of this Peace gave his *Czarish* Majesty, may be guessed at, by the Profusion with which he celebrated the Publication of it, not only at *Peterburgh* and *Moscow*, but in all the Courts where he had any Ministers, to whom he made large Remittances to make publick Feasts and Rejoicings on the Occasion. The *Russian* Plenipotentiaries were loaded with Favours and Presents, nor were those of *Sweden* forgot; his Majesty giving ten thousand Roubles to

the first, eight thousand to the second, and two thousand to the Secretary of the Embassy.

The News of the Peace was carried from one End of the *Russian* Empire to the other, with Orders to set all the *Swedish* Prisoners, in *Siberia* and other remote Provinces, at Liberty ; but his Czarish Majesty signified to them, that as it was very likely that the *Swedes* would disband part of their Forces, and that perhaps they would find no Entertainment in their own Country, he was willing to give them the same Rank in his Troops, as they had in the Service of *Sweden* ; but that they should be obliged to make a Declaration of their accepting any such Offer before the chief Officers of their own Nation, who were to return Home, and other Commissioners, that it might not be said, that he had detained them contrary to their Will, and the Terms of the Treaty. His Majesty's Generosity went so far, as to give Letters of Recommendation to several of those, whose Valour and Fidelity to their King and Country he had been a Witness to ; and the King of *Sweden* paid such Regard to those Recommendations, that, among others, he raised Rear-Admiral *Ebrenschöld* to the Rank of Admiral on that Account ; and his Czarish Majesty, on the Departure of that brave Prisoner, made him a Present of his Picture set with Diamonds.

His Majesty sent Orders to the Governor of *Riga*, to grant a Church to the reformed Protestants in that City, for the publick Exercise of their Religion, which they could never obtain in the Time of the *Swedish* Government ; and gave them other Privileges, to encourage Foreigners of the same Communion to come and settle there. He restored to the *Livonians* the Privileges they had been deprived of in the two last Reigns, and for the Defence of which the unhappy Count *Patkul*, whose tragical Story I have related in the first Volume of this Work, may be said to have died a Martyr. He made other Ordinances, which gave the Nobles and People a great Idea of the Mildness of his Government ; and to such as preferred any other to his, he gave free Liberty to retire to any other Place.

Seventeen hundred *Russian* Prisoners were now sent back from *Sweden*, where great Rejoicings were made on Account of the happy Conclusion of the Peace, which, though dear bought, was a valuable Purchase to them, since it put an End to that War which had almost brought them to the Brink of Destruction.

His Czarish Majesty, on his Part, appointed the Twenty-second of *October* as a Day of publick Thanksgiving for the Peace; but a few Days before he went to the Senate, and made a Speech to the following Purport:

“That since it had pleased God to heap so many Blessings on him during the last burthensome and tedious War, and at length to grant him a Peace so glorious, and so advantageous for the whole Empire, he thought it but a Piece of Justice in him to do the Nation some Favour in Acknowledgment of the Mercies he had received at the Hand of God; and that he could not better acquit himself of this Duty, than by publishing a general Amnesty throughout the Empire, not only for such, whose Crimes have deserved arbitrary Punishment, or who are already under Sentence, upon Account of the publick Debts, and have not wherewithal to pay them; and by forgiving poor Subjects the Arrears of old Taxes, which they have not hitherto paid, by Reason of their Insolvency, which Arrears amount to several Millions, from the Beginning of the last War to the Year 1718.”

The Senate having thereupon most humbly thanked his Czarish Majesty for his paternal Clemency and Tenderness, Orders were immediately dispatched to all Parts of the Empire, to set all Persons at Liberty confined in Prisons, or on Board the Gallies, to the 22<sup>d</sup> of *October* inclusively, either for Debts, or for Crimes of High-Treason.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of *October* the Senate, after mature Deliberation with the Clergy, resolved, in the Name of the whole *Russian* Empire, “Most humbly to thank his Majesty for the Fatherly Care and Pains, with which he had applied himself to the Advancement of the Happiness and Prosperity of the Empire, ever since



“ he had held the Reins of Government ; but especially  
 “ during the last War, in which, by his sole Direc-  
 “ tion, he had put his Dominions into so formidable a  
 “ Condition, and acquired the Nation so much Glory  
 “ in the Eyes of all the World ; and to intreat him  
 “ that he would be pleased, as a Token of his Subjects  
 “ Acknowledgment for the same, to accept, after the  
 “ Example of other Monarchs, the Titles of *Father*  
 “ *of his Country, Emperor of all Russia, and Peter the*  
 “ *Great.*” For this Purpose, Prince *Menzikoff* was  
 sent to his Majesty with a Letter from the Senate, pray-  
 ing him, in the “ Name of all the States of the *Russian*  
 “ Empire, to accept those Titles, and to give them  
 “ Leave to offer them to his Majesty on the Day of the  
 “ Celebration of the Peace in the Church, by a solemn  
 “ Speech.” His Majesty sent Word by the Prince,  
*that he should be glad to speak with some of the Members*  
*of the Senate about it.* And accordingly the Senators,  
 accompanied by the Archbishops of *Novogrod* and *Ples-*  
*kow*, Vice-Presidents of the Synod, waited on him, and  
 renewed their Request ; but he seemed a long Time in  
 Suspence, whether or no he should accept their Offer,  
 and, for certain Reasons, desired to be excused ; but the  
 Senators, &c. very earnestly repeating their Instances to  
 the contrary, he at length condescended to accept those  
 Titles, and they were conferred upon him in the Manner  
 following.

On the Day appointed for solemnizing the Thank-  
 giving for the Peace, their Czarish Majesties went in the  
 Morning to the great Cathedral ; where, after the Li-  
 turgy, the Treaty of perpetual Peace, as concluded and  
 ratified between his Majesty and the Crown of *Sweden*,  
 was read in the Presence of the Minister of the Emperor,  
 [Count *Kinski* ;] of *France*, [Monsieur *de Campredon* ;]  
 of *Prussia*, [Count *Mardefield* ;] and of *Holland*, [M. *de*  
*Wilde*.] Then the Archbishop of *Pleskow* made an Ha-  
 rangue, in which he rehearsed all the glorious Exploits  
 of his Majesty, and the Favours he had heaped upon  
 his Empire and Subjects during his Reign ; adding, at  
 the same Time, that he justly deserved the Appellations  
 of *Father of his Country, and the Great.* When his Ha-  
 rangue

When the Speech was ended, the Senate advanced to his Majesty a B. dy, and the Count *Golofskin*, Great Chancellor, made the following Speech to him in the *Russian* Language, in the Name of all the States of the Empire.

IT is only owing to your Majesty's illustrious Actions, and the indefatigable Care with which you have always applied yourself to the Affairs of State and War, that we are delivered out of the Darkneſs of Ignorance, and ſet upon the Theatre of the World in Sight of the whole Univerſe; ſo that we, who before were Nothing, are now become Something, and are in the ſame Rank and Intereſt with the polite Nations. Where ſhall we find Words duly to exalt your Majesty's Merits, who hath procured us a Peace ſo glorious and advantageous for your Empire? But as we know that your Majesty does not care for ſuch Panegyricks, we will ſuppreſs them. However, leſt we ſhould be taxed with Ingratitude for the Favours which you have heaped upon the whole Nation, we take the Liberty, in the Name of all the States of the Empire, moſt humbly to intreat your Majesty, that you will pleaſe to accept, as an Acknowledgment, the Titles of PETER THE GREAT, FATHER OF THE COUNTRY, AND EMPEROR OF ALL RUSSIA. The Title of EMPEROR was granted ſome Ages ago to your Majesty's illuſtrious Anceſtors, by the Great *Roman Emperor Maximilian I.* and ſeveral Powers do actually give it to your Majesty at this Time. The Title of GREAT, which your Majesty hath acquired by your Heroick Actions, hath been already given you in ſeveral publick Writings: And as for the Title of FATHER OF THE COUNTRY, we thought fit to give it to your Majesty, as being our *Father*, whom God hath been pleaſed to grant us in his great Goodneſs, without any Merit of our own. We give it you after the Example of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, who uſed to give thoſe Appellations to ſuch of their Monarchs as rendered themſelves famous by glorious Exploits, and by Acts of Goodneſs to their People. Therefore we think ourſelves obliged, by

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“ your

“ your Majesty’s fatherly Tenderneſs, moſt humbly to  
 “ offer you *what is already yours without it*, what you  
 “ yourſelf have already ſo juſtly acquired, and what  
 “ belongs to you by full Right and Title; intreating  
 “ that you would be pleaſed to favour us according to  
 “ your known Magnanimity, and moſt graciously to  
 “ accept what we now dedicate to your Maſteſty.”

Then the whole Senate thrice repeated, Long live  
 PETER the Great, Father of his Country, and EMPEROR of all RUSSIA; and the whole Aſſembly teſtified their Applauſe by the Sound of Trumpets and Kettle-Drums: At the ſame Time the Cannon were diſcharged from the Ramparts, the Admiralty, and a hundred and twenty-five Gallies that arrived the ſame Day with twenty-three thouſand Foot Soldiers, who had been till then in *Finland*, under the Command of Prince *Galinzin*. This was followed by a Salvo of the ſmall Arms of ſome Battalions of the Guards, that were drawn up in a Line near the Church; as alſo of the Troops that were on board the ſaid Gallies and other ſmall Veſſels. The Subſtance of his Imperial Maſteſty’s Answer to the Speech was this:

“ *Fiſt*, That he heartily deſired the Nation would  
 “ acknowledge the Goodneſs of the Great God, for his  
 “ Mercies vouchſafed during the late War, and by the  
 “ Treaty of Peace concluded with the Crown of *Sweden*.  
 “ *Secondly*, That they would render all poſſible Thanks to  
 “ God, and while they enjoy Peace, not lay aſide Military Exerciſes, leſt what has happened to the *Greek*  
 “ Monarchy ſhould happen again. And *Thirdly*, That  
 “ they would lay the publick Good to Heart, and make  
 “ a profitable Uſe of the Advantages which God hath  
 “ been pleaſed to put into their Hands, for making  
 “ Commerce flouriſh, and for eaſing the Nation.”

The Senate then making a profound Reverence, and thanking his Maſteſty for ſo gracious and paternal an Exhortation, gave Thanks to God in Prayer, which was followed by a ſecond Salvo of the Cannon and ſmall Arms; after which a Chapter was read out of one of the Gospels, and the Metropolitan of *Rexan* kneeling, recited the Lord’s Prayer with a loud Voice, and the Service

ended. Their Imperial Majesties were saluted going out of the Church, with the Acclamations of the people, and a third Discharge of the great and small arms.

After this the Senate went in a Body to congratulate the Empress and the Imperial Princesses ; who very graciously thanked them. The Emperor and Empress went from thence to the Hall of the Senate, where the Duke of *Holslein* waited with all his Retinue, as well as the foreign Ministers, who every one of them congratulated them on their Entrance into the Hall. Then since *Menzikoff*, Count *Apraxin*, and the Secretary of the Senate, declared the Advancement of several Land and Sea Officers ; after which the Assembly sat down to table, where above a thousand Persons of both Sexes were entertained.

The Conduits in the Street ran with Wine ; an Ox was roasted whole, and stuffed with Fowls for the People ; and the Night concluded with Illuminations and Fire-works, which were lighted about nine o'Clock, soon as the Ball was over in the great Hall. But the rejoicings continued at *Petersburgh* for fifteen Days, which was one of those grand Masquerades that the whole Court had a Part in, and which was repeated every Day for five or six times.

I shall conclude the third Book of this Volume, at this remarkable Period of Time, when an End was put to the cruel and destructive War, which had now raged about twenty Years in the North ; and when this great Prince was invested with those Titles that were so justly due to his Power, and the glorious Deeds he had performed for his Country.

*End of the Third Book.*



# BOOK IV.

## The CONTENTS.

*The Czar takes upon him the Title of Emperor, and requires it to be given him by foreign Powers ; which is done very readily by the King of Prussia, the States General of the United Provinces, and the Grand Senior ; but the King of Denmark refuses it on Account of some Differences with respect to certain Privileges claimed by the Czar in the Sound. The Trade is removed from Archangel to Petersburg. The Bible translated into the Russian Language. The Emperor of Russia makes a triumphant Entry into Moscow. Obliged his People to take an Oath, that they will all approve of the Person he shall appoint for his Successor. The Grounds of the War with Persia. His Russian Majesty prepares for an Expedition on the Caspian Sea. Resolves to command his Army in Person. Makes several Regulations before his Departure. Calls a general Synod. Sets out with the Empress from Moscow. Disperses a Manifesto along the Borders of the Caspian Sea. An Extract of the Journal of the Emperor's Expedition to Derbent. The Turks jealous of the Russians Succesful. The good Offices of the Marquis de Bernac, the French Ambassador. Proceedings against Baron Schafiroff. The Emperor returns to Petersburg. Reviews his Navy. Gives Ships to several Circles. The Duke of Holstein demands the Title of Royal Highness of the States of Sweden. The Consecration of the Little-Grandfire. The Reception of the Persian Ambassador. The taking of Baku. The Disposition*





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tent of the Turks. A Treaty between Russia and the Porte.

THE Vice-Chancellor, Baron *Schafroff*, had Orders to acquaint all the Ministers of foreign Princes, that the Title of Emperor, which his Majesty had been requested, by his faithful Subjects, his Senate, and the States of his Empire to take upon him, was no new Thing, but what had been formerly given to his Predecessors by several Powers of Europe, and shewed them at the same Time a Treaty, a Copy of which his Majesty had caused to be printed at *Petersburgh*, between the Emperor *Maximilian I.* and *Bosile Iacano-witz*, the great Prince of *Russia* then reigning, which was found in the Archives of the *Russian* Chancery, and whereby it appeared, that the said Emperor styled the great Prince of *Russia* EMPEROR and Dominator of all *Russia*. The Subject of the Treaty is an offensive and defensive Alliance made in the Year 1514, between those two Monarchs, against *Sigismund*, who was elected King of *Poland* in Opposition to the Emperor *Maximilian*, who stood Candidate with him. The *Russians* looked upon this Piece not only as a Proof that the Title of EMPEROR could not be denied their Monarch, since it had been given to one of his Predecessors by the first Prince of *Christendom*, but that also the Title of Sovereign of all *Russia*, which the *Poles* would not own, was no new Pretension, having likewise been given him, even by a Prince who stood Candidate for the Crown of *Poland*.

His *Russian* Majesty, not contented only with the Declaration made to the foreign Ministers at *Petersburgh*, caused his own Ministers abroad to demand it of the Powers to whom they were sent; some of which consented to it without any Difficulty, and some waited till others had shewn the Example: The King of *Prussia*, the States-General of the *United Provinces*, and the Grand Signior, were the first who acknowledged his new Title; and the Ambassador of *Prussia* declared his Master's Resolution in the following Discourse:

*Most serene and most powerful Emperor and Sovereign,*

“ **A**S soon as his Majesty the King of *Prussia*, my  
 “ most gracious Sovereign and Master, was in-  
 “ formed by my Letters, that your Majesty, upon the  
 “ Instances of your faithful Subjects and Estates, had  
 “ resolved to accept the Quality and Title of Emperor,  
 “ his Majesty was pleased to command me, forthwith  
 “ to acknowledge, in his Name, your Imperial Majesty  
 “ in Quality of EMPEROR, and congratulate you on  
 “ that high Dignity, which is answerable, and bears a  
 “ Proportion to your formidable Forces both by Sea  
 “ and Land, and to the several Kingdoms and States  
 “ possessed by your Majesty as Sovereign Lord ; so that  
 “ upon that very Account several Monarchs and States  
 “ of *Europe* had already given you the Title of Empe-  
 “ ror, as a natural Consequence of your Power : And  
 “ indeed, who can with more Justice use that glorious  
 “ Title than your Majesty, who possesses so many emi-  
 “ nent Qualities, both in Respect to War and Peace,  
 “ that although you had not been called to the Throne  
 “ by Order of the Succession, you would nevertheless be  
 “ esteemed and judged worthy of, and born for that  
 “ supreme Dignity, and God would have placed you  
 “ therein in this World ?

“ The known Modesty of your Imperial Majesty  
 “ does not permit to commend, in your Presence, your  
 “ heroick Actions, and join in the Eulogies all the  
 “ World makes of them.

“ Therefore I shall content myself to wish, in the  
 “ Name of my most gracious King and Sovereign,  
 “ that God would be pleased to grant, that your Maje-  
 “ sty may enjoy this Imperial Title in Health and all  
 “ Happiness, till you are come to a very old Age ; that  
 “ he will heap all Sorts of Blessings upon you, and that  
 “ your Majesty may persist in that sincere Amity to-  
 “ ward the Royal House, which has hitherto subsisted,  
 “ and which his *Prussian* Majesty, my most gracious  
 “ King and Master, will cultivate and cement on his  
 “ Part, by all possible Means.”

His

His Imperial Majesty of *Russia*, could not but be well pleased at this Readiness in the King of *Prussia* to acknowledge his new Title ; but the King of *Denmark* had not the same Complaisance : Perhaps he feared by that, to authorize the Demand his Imperial Majesty had made, that all *Russian* Ships should pass the *Sound* Custom-free. Mr. *Bestuchef*, his Minister at *Copenhagen*, had made pressing Instances on that Head ; but was answered, that the Privilege of Customs in the *Sound*, was an antient Prerogative always belonging to the Crown of *Denmark* ; and although the Unhappiness of the Times, might have formally caused some Alterations in this Particular, this Privilege was re-established by the last Peace with *Sweden* ; and as the Czar made not his Peace with that Crown till the Year after, it naturally followed, that he could not ground his Pretensions upon any Right acquired by, or inherent to the Conquests he had made, nor insist justly upon obtaining an Exemption, which his *Danish* Majesty could not by any Means agree to.

In a Letter wrote to the Czar, on the 26<sup>th</sup> of *February*, from the Court of *Denmark*, it was said, that his *Danish* Majesty could not be induced to believe, that his Czarish Majesty would so lightly esteem the Alliance and good Friendship subsisting between the two Nations, as to insist upon a Pretension so little maintainable, and to destroy for the Sake of that, the Harmony and good Intelligence till then preserved between them.

The *Russian* Monarch, who was always intent on whatever could promote the Trade of his Subjects, and which this Exemption he had demanded of the *Danes* would have been a great Encouragement to, contrived at the same Time, a new Method for preserving his Ships from rotting, and keeping them in good Repair without any Charge ; and that was to allow the trading Cities of his Dominions, a certain Number of his Ships for carrying on their Commerce, upon Condition, that the Merchants should fit them out at their Charges. By this Disposition, the City of *Riga* was to have ten Ships, and the other Towns in Proportion.

The



The Emperor of *Russia* having found his Design of transferring the Commerce of *Archangel* to *Petersburgh* impracticable, during the Continuance of the War, now all Obstacles were removed by the Peace of *Ni-  
stadt*, renewed the Orders he had formerly given for that Purpose. The Merchants could not help murmur-  
ing at being thus forced to change their Settlement; but his Majesty made them amends in some Sort, by ordering the Commissioners of Trade to prepare convenient Store-houses and Lodgings for them.

This Regulation was followed by another very different, but very worthy of the sincere Piety of this great Monarch, who being thoroughly persuaded of the many Evils that accompany Error and Superstition, and of the great Advantages to be drawn from the pure Fountain of true Religion, thought that one of the first Uses he ought to make of the Leisure he now enjoyed by the Peace, should be to procure to his People, plunged by the Crimes and Remissness of their Clergy, or rather by their antient Laws, into the most profound Ignorance in the Articles of Religion, the Lights which might be received from reading the Holy Scriptures; for which Reason he caused the BIBLE to be printed at *Amsterdam* in *Holland*, in such a Manner, that every one might write at the Side of each Verse such Notes as should be made by those Divines who were to be chosen to make a Commentary thereon: He ordered these Books to be sold at a low Price to his People, and that every Father of a Family should have at least, one Exemplar, that he might learn from thence the Grounds of the Religion he was to teach his Children. He likewise expressly commanded all the Clergy in his Dominions to preach, for the future, after the Method used in the polite Parts of *Europe*, and to advance nothing but what was conformable to the Scriptures, and most universally received Tradition.

After having made so many useful Regulations, since the Ratification of the Treaty of Peace, his Imperial Majesty resolved to go and share Part of the publick Joy with his faithful Subjects at *Moscow*,\* where it was likewise necessary to reform some Things. As his Majesty

was

was desirous to enter this his antient City in Triumph, and as the People were apprized of his Intentions, most magnificent Preparations were made for the same. His Majesty went from *Petersburgh* on the 21<sup>st</sup> of *December*, followed by the Empress, the whole Court, and all the foreign Ministers. He arrived at *Moscow* on the 25<sup>th</sup>, but did not enter the City till the 29<sup>th</sup>, that every thing might be got ready.

On the Day appointed for his Majesty's publick Entry, he put himself at the Head of the *Preobrazinski* Regiment of Guards, as their Colonel, being proceeded by a Company of Grenadiers, and followed by two Lieutenant-Colonels of the Guards, viz. Prince *Menzikoff* and M. *Bouturlin*: Afterwards marched four Majors, followed by eight Captains in the first Rank, and eight Captain-Lieutenants in the second; after these, came sixteen Colours, carried in two Ranks. The rest of the Officers were posted near their Companies, according to their several Stations. The *Preobrazinski* Regiment was followed by the second Regiment of Guards, which marched in the same Order, and then by four other Regiments, viz. those of *Ingria*, *Astracan*, *Le Fort* and *Boutirski*.

The Emperor being arrived with his Train at the first triumphal Arch, which was erected in the Street of *Taver*, he was received with the Sound of Trumpets, Drums, and a Discharge of the Artillery. His Imperial Majesty went through the Part of the City called *Beloigorod* to *Kirai*; all the Guns of the Towers and Ramparts firing at the same Time, and the Bells of all the Churches ringing. When he was come to the second triumphal Arch, he was complemented by the Archbishop of *Novogorod*, Vice-President of the Synod, at the Head of the secular and regular Clergy, in the following Speech.

“ **F**Orasmuch as by the Divine Blessing, and by  
 “ your most signal Actions, your Imperial Ma-  
 “ jesty's high Renown and Glory are far advanced  
 “ above all the Virtues and Beauties of Rhetorick: We  
 “ the Synod here assembled in a Body, are afraid to  
 “ com-

" commemorate them in this Speech, lest by our In-  
 " sufficiency, they should suffer a Diminution. Ne-  
 " vertheless, we take the Liberty to make our most  
 " humble Congratulations to your Imperial Majesty :  
 " May you taste the incorruptible Fruits of your La-  
 " bours, in perfect Health, for many Years to come,  
 " and bring up your Children to be Fathers of their  
 " Country ! We also unanimously wish that your most  
 " happy Successors, descended from your Imperial  
 " Blood, may, to Perpetuity, produce Fruits of Vir-  
 " tues, equal to those of your Imperial Majesty."

The Emperor received this Complement very graci-  
 ously, and diverted himself for some Hours with hear-  
 ing Concerts of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, per-  
 formed by divers young Students, who sang in various  
 Foreign Languages, in Presence of the Duke of *Holslein*,  
 the Senators, and all the Generals. The Words of this  
 Musick taken from *Genesis*, Chap. ii. v. 18. from *Psalms*  
 ii. v. 10. *Psalms* xix. v. 10. *Psalms* xxi. v. 8. *Psalms* cii.  
 v. 3. *Psalms* cxli. v. 1. from *St. Matthew*, Chap. xvii.  
 v. 4. and from the first Epistle of *St. Peter*, Chap. ii.  
 v. 17. were the first Airs with Notes to them that were  
 ever seen printed in *Russia*. After this, his Imperial Ma-  
 jesty proceeded to the third triumphal Arch, erected by  
 Order of Prince *Menzikoff*; and after having stopped  
 there a while, to satisfy the Curiosity of the Populace,  
 who gave inexpressible Demonstrations of their Joy, he  
 continued his March towards the fourth triumphal Arch,  
 erected by the Magistrates. There he was received by  
 the Prince *Troubiski*, President of the Magistracy, and  
 by the whole Body of the Magistrates, accompanied by  
 a great Number of eminent Merchants. His Imperial  
 Majesty declared to them his great Satisfaction, and as-  
 sured them of his Favour and Protection.

This triumphant Entry was followed by Feasts, Balls,  
 and other Diversions; notwithstanding which, his Im-  
 perial Majesty held frequent Councils about the Affairs  
 of State; and being desirous to settle his Succession upon  
 a Prince who might follow his Maxims, and bring to  
 Perfection the great Designs he had begun, especially  
 with

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with regard to the civilizing the *Russian* Nation, and entirely rescuing his People from the barbarous Ignorance they were plunged in, thought fit to give publick Notice, on the 23<sup>d</sup> of *February*, by Sound of Trumpet, that all Officers, Civil and Military, all natural-born Subjects, and foreign Merchants, inhabiting within the Capital of *Moscow*, should repair the next Day to the Castle-Church; where, as many as were in Town being come accordingly, a Proposal they little expected was made to them, and afterwards distributed to each Person in Print, to the following Purport: "That it  
" was his Imperial Majesty's Pleasure, every Man  
" should swear, and give it under his Hand, that he  
" will not only approve the Choice his said Majesty  
" shall make of a Successor to the Government of the  
" Empire, but moreover acknowledge the Person his  
" Majesty shall propose for that End, as his Emperor  
" and Sovereign." An Order was likewise published a few Days after, at *Petersburgh*, requiring the Magistrates, and all other Persons, to subscribe the same Declaration; and all the Grantees of the Empire were commanded to repair by the latter End of *March* to *Moscow*, to subscribe also upon Pain of Death and Confiscation of their Estates, except those of the Kingdoms of *Astracan* and *Siberia*, who, living at too great a Distance from the Court, were excused paying their Attendance, and allowed to subscribe before their respective Governors.

All People very readily took the Oath required, and eagerly pressed to subscribe to the Will of their Emperor, well assured that he would make Choice of no one but what was worthy to succeed him, and capable of supporting the Dignity he intended him for: But they were in the Dark as to the Name of the Person, tho' most Men believed it was Prince *Narashkin*, a near Relation to the Emperor, who had lived some Years at *Amsterdam*, where he learned the Mathematicks, Navigation, and the Art of Ship-building; and from thence had gone into *England*, *France*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, and continued in those several Parts a sufficient Time to learn their Languages, Customs, and Policy. Every  
Body

Body allowed that he had a great Genius, and all the Qualities to be wished for in a Prince, and withal, that he was so well convinced of the Wisdom of the Measures the Czar had taken, that no Body was more proper to pursue the same Views, and perfect what that Prince had so gloriously begun: But, however, we shall find that this was not the Successor his Imperial Majesty had destined to inherit the Crown of *Russia*.

The Act of Succession declared several Motives, deduced from Scripture and Reason, which had induced the Emperor PETER to take the Resolution he had. His Majesty therein declared, that both obliged a Prince to exclude from his Succession a Person who is either incapable of governing a great Nation, and go before them to fight in their Battles, or has such vicious Inclinations, that there may be Reason to fear, that he would be the Tyrant instead of the Father of his People: He also declared, that he was so entirely persuaded of this Duty in a Sovereign, that if the Person he designed for his Successor, should forget himself upon that Account, grow proud, vicious and insolent, and in short, did not answer his Expectation, he would exclude him, and chuse a more worthy Person to fill the Throne after his Decease.

This Point settled, his Imperial Majesty prepared for new Conquests, which the Troubles in the East, and the Peace he had just concluded with *Sweden*, gave him an Opportunity to make.

*Hussein* IV. had been *Schah* or King of *Persia* ever since the Year 1694, when he succeeded his Father *Schah Soliman* III. and was an effeminate Prince, brought up in the *Haram*, which is the same as the Seraglio in *Turkey*: Ignorant of the Art of Reigning, and indulging himself in a slothful Indolence, and the Pleasures of Peace, he was a King only in Name, whilst his Grand Vizir had all the Power, and governed as he thought fit. During the Time he was on the Throne of *Persia*, the *Tartars*, the *Moguls*, and the *Arabs*, made several Irruptions into his Provinces, and were only driven thence by the Force of his Money, which had constant Charms to draw them into fresh Invasions, that their Departure might



might be purchased by the same Means. It was of this Prince that the Emperor PETER had obtained a free Passage for the *Russian* Caravans to *China*, and with whom the last Treaty of Commerce was concluded, on the Faith of which the *Russian* Merchants had ventured to travel cross *Persia*.

*Candabar* is an important City, on the Frontiers of *Persia*, on the Side of *Mogolistan*; it is the Capital of a large Province, inhabited by a foreign Nation, which the famous *Tamerlane* had transported thither formerly from *Schirvan*, antiently called the *Great Albania*, from whence the People retained the Name of *Aghvans*, from *Albania*, the *Armenians* using to change the *L* into *Gh*, and the *B* into *V*. The City of *Candabar* and the *Aghvans* had their particular Prince's Vassals and Tributaries to the King of *Persia*, till the Time of *Schah-Sefi*, Grandson to the Great *Schah-Abas*, who forced *Alimerdan-Kan*, Prince of *Candabar*, to put it under the Protection of the Mogul, to avoid his own Death, and it was not recovered till the Year 1650, by *Schah-Abas II*. Since which Time, *Candabar* and the *Aghvans* were put under the Government of some *Persian* Lord, who ruled the Province. The last was *Georgi-Kan*, Prince of *Georgia*, whom *Hussein-Schah* sent as an Exile to govern *Candabar*. There was at that Time in the City a certain Man named *Myrr-Weis*, who was *Chielentar*, or Gatherer of the Tribute to be paid to the King.

He exercised this lucrative Employment with a Nobleness of Mind, a Disinterestedness and Lenity that gained him the Affections of all Sorts of People. He possessed great Wealth, which he made no use of, but to do good Offices. Prince *Georgi-Kan* no sooner perceived this Management, than he imagined there was some Design in it, and informed the Court of his Suspicions. *Myrr-Weis* was sent for to *Ispahan*, where his fine Parts enabled him very soon to make many Friends, and to discover the Weakness of a Court quite immersed in Softness and Pleasures. There is no need of entering into a Detail of all his Intrigues at the Court of *Hussein*; let it suffice, that he found Means to be sent back to  
*Candabar*

*Candahar* with some Authority, where he was no sooner returned, but he assassinated Prince *Georgi-Kan*, \* and forced the *Aghvans* to revolt.

It was thus he raised himself to the Sovereign Power, which he preserved till the Time of his Death [in the Year 1717.] without the Court of *Persia*'s being able, with all its Efforts, to reduce him to Obedience. He was succeeded by his Brother, whose Name is unknown; and he, being more pacifick in his Nature, endeavoured to persuade the *Grandeess* to make Peace with the *Schah-Hussain*, but to no Purpose; and while he was labouring to bring this about, was assassinated in his Chamber by *Myrr-Maghmud*, his Nephew, and Son of *Myrr-Weis*, who was then but eighteen Years of Age. It was this *Myrr-Maghmud*, known in *Europe* by the false Name of *Myrr-Weis*, who caused a Revolution in *Persia*, the most astonishing that is to be met with in History.

*Myrr-Maghmud* began to augment his Forces, by constraining the *Aghvans* of the Province of *Hafarai* to take his Part; these *Aghvans* were separated from those of *Candahar* by their Religion, the one being *Rafi*, and the other *Sunni* †.

There is no Occasion for giving a particular Account of all the Battles fought by *Myrr-Maghmud*, nor of the Victories he gained till he made himself Master of *Kirman*, the Capital of a fine Province; which, with *Isfahan* and *Candahar*, made a Triangle.

*Hussain-Schah* now began to consider what might be the Consequences of the Revolt he had neglected, and against which he had not made use of all the Forces in his Power, or had very ill employed them, leaving the Direction of his Affairs to wretched Eunuchs, who would have rendered the best-concerted Designs abortive: But at this Time he gave the Command of his numerous Army to *Lusti-Ali-Kan*, Brother-in-Law to the *Athemat-Doulet*, or Prime Minister. This Man was

\* This was in the Year 1710.

† The *Persians* are *Rafi*, and the *Turks*, *Sunni*, which are two Sects that divide the *Musulmans*.

an experienced Officer, who first shewed the *Aghvans* that they were to be conquered and beaten, and hardly appeared before *Kirman*, which the Rebels had taken by the Treachery of the *Guebers*, or *Gaurs*, a Remnant of the antient *Persians* who still adored the Fire, but he retook that important Place, and chased *Myrr-Maghmud* and his *Aghvans* even to the Walls of *Candabar*, which he would also have reduced to the Obedience of *Hussein*, if he had had necessary Provisions, and the Houses of that City had not been plundered on purpose to take away all Subsistence from his Army, which was done by *Myrr-Maghmud* and the *Aghvans*. He would also have given a good Account of the Revolters the next Year, if, during the Time that he assembled his Army under *Chiras*, his Enemies had not found Means to blacken him and his Brother-in-Law, the *Achemet-Doulet*, and render them odious to the weak *Hussein*, who, without examining into any Thing, caused the Eyes of his Prime Minister to be pulled out, and his General, *Lusti-Ali-Kan*, to be put under an Arrest, though they were both innocent of all the Crimes that were laid to their Charge. The Loss of these two great Men was what first raised the Fortune of *Myrr-Maghmud*, and was the Ruin of *Schab-Hussein* and all *Persia*. After the Disgrace of *Lusti-Ali-Kan*, *Myrr-Maghmud*, having no other Person to fear, left *Candabar*, retook *Kirman*, and, making himself Allies in all the Places round about him, he advanced towards *Ispahan* with an Army of fifty or sixty thousand fighting Men; but consisting of above a hundred Thousand, if we reckon all his Domestick Servants and others that followed him.

The Revolt of the *Aghvans* set a fatal Example, that was soon followed by others, especially by the *Leshians*, a People about Mount *Caucasus*, on the West of the *Caspian Sea*, and to whom the *Persians* used to pay an annual Tribute, which had been neglected for some Years by the Eunuchs misapplying the Funds designed for that Purpose. These *Leshians*, seeing the Disorders which the Revolt of *Myrr-Maghmud* had caused throughout the Kingdom, came down from their Mountains, and entered *Schirvan*, one of the richest Provinces of all

all *Persia*; they pillaged the Country, and took *Szamachi*, where they put all to the Sword, and among the rest, about three hundred *Russians*, who were come thither on Affairs of Trade, these they massacred, and seized on their Effects, in which was above a Million of Money.

Whilst this passed in the North of *Persia*, *Myrr-Magbmud* made daily Progress towards the South.

It would be superfluous in this Place, to relate all that was done by this new *Cromwell*, in less than a Year, always under the Pretence of bringing to Reason the Enemies of the *Schah*, to whom he constantly gave such false Accounts, as engaged him to put to Death his best Friends, whom he rendered suspected by him. At length, with the Alcoran in one Hand and his Scymetar in the other, he cried aloud for nothing but Justice, and the Destruction of Hereticks. He came even to the Gates of *Ispahan*, where, taking off the Mask, he attacked the *Schah* himself, and obliged him to declare him his first Minister and Protector of *Persia*, making the most violent and obstinate War upon the Prince, his Master. It is very necessary that the Reader should know thus much of those Facts, which were the Reasons for the *Russian* Emperor's carrying his Arms into *Persia*, at a Time when he was desirous of giving Peace to his Country. The *Russian* Merchants, pillaged and massacred by the Rebel *Lesgians* in *Szamachi*, and the Caravan from *China* treated in the same Manner by the *Usbecks*, who were Allies of the Usurper, were likewise powerful Motives to induce the Emperor *PETER* to send an Ambassador into *Persia*, to carry the Complaints of the Outrages either to the *Schah-Husseïn*, if it was true that *Myrr-Magbmud* was only his Generalissimo, as was given out, or to *Myrr-Magbmud* himself, if he was entered into *Persia* as an Enemy, since the *Russians* had no Misunderstanding with the *Emir* of *Candabar*, or his Subjects.

The *Russian* Ambassador found *Persia* in a Confusion that is not to be described; therefore he went directly to the Camp of *Myrr-Magbmud*, whom Fortune and Victory obsequiously followed. He had Audience immediately;

ately ; for however ambitious this Rebel was, and what great Titles soever he affected, he was always free of Access. The Ambassador declared to him the Subject of his Commission, remonstrating to him, that as his Troops joined with the *Usbecks* had massacred, without any Reason, the Subjects of the Emperor, his Master, and had robbed them of the Merchandize and Treasures that they had brought out of *China*, the Emperor of *Russia* having no Quarrel with those of *Candahar*, could not but look upon such a Violence as contrary to the Law of Nations, and therefore has a Right to demand a proper Satisfaction.

*Myrr-Maghmud* heard these Complaints, and answered the *Russian* Ambassador, that for himself, he desired nothing more than to maintain a good Understanding with the Czar, his Master, who had been described to him as a Prince as ingenious and prudent, as he was valiant and warlike ; but that he would advise him, if he intended to send any more Caravans to *China*, to make an Alliance with the *Tartars*, and especially with the Great *Cham*, and to stipulate for the Liberty of passing through their Country and the neighbouring Provinces, or else to send a good Body of Troops to escort those Caravans ; as he had heard that those States, whose Subjects traded to the *Indies* by Sea, convoyed their Merchant-Ships by a Number of Men of War ; and, in a Word, he told the Ambassador, that he could not prescribe Laws to the *Usbecks*, his Allies.

As soon as the Emperor was informed of this insolent Answer, he gave Orders in all the Eastern Provinces of his Dominions, as in the Kingdoms of *Siberia*, *Casan*, *Bulgaria* and *Astracan*, to assemble his Troops ; he armed the *Cossacks* and the *Calmucks*, and built at *Astracan*, and along the *Volga*, Barks, Gallies, and such other necessary Vessels, as he judged he should have Occasion for in an Expedition on the *Caspian* Sea, of which he, at that Time, formed the Design, and which the Peace of *Nieffadt* had put him in a Condition to execute.

The Contempt with which *Myrr-Maghmud* had received and sent back his Ambassador, and the Massacre



cre of his People at *Szamachi*, and elfewhere, were not all that excited the *Russian* Monarch to this Undertaking. The firm Eftablifhment of a useful Commerce was what he had always confidered as the Basis of the Grandeur and Power of his Empire, and that was the great Spring of all his Enterprizes. It was with this View, that he had built the City of *Petersburgh*; with this View he preferved the Provinces of *Livonia* and *Carelia*; with this View he fet out upon his Travels; and with this View he had founded all the Coafts of the *Caffian* Sea, of which he had caufed the exact Plan or Chart to be made we have already mentioned and given the Reader a Draught of, wherein he may view the Situation of moft of the Places that the Emperor of *Ruffia* conquered in this Expedition.

The Pretext which the Emperor made ufe of to examine this Sea with fo much Exactnefs was, that he might difcover the Mouth of the River *Daria*, and go up to its Source; for this bringing much Gold with its Stream, he thought he fhould be able to difcover Mines of this rich Metal, over which the River paffed, if it was not brought from the Fountain-Head itfelf. Thofe who were charged with this Commiffion, not only brought back Gold, but reported that when they went afhore, and were got about a hundred and fifty Leagues to the North-Eaft, they found a great Stone Building above half covered with Sand, the Architecture of which was almoft like that of the Ruins of antient *Perfeopolis*; and that entering it, they found Prefses of a black hard fort of Wood, containing near three thoufand Volumes, bound in the Form of large Quarto's, which they intended to have brought with them; but the fuperftitious People of the Country oppofed it, for Fear that the Structure, which they looked upon as a f acred Monument, fhould be profaned, by their fuffering any Thing to be carried out of it; nevertheless, the *Muscovites* found Means to convey away three Volumes, which they brought to the City of *Petersburgh*. The Books found in thefe Ruins were large Sheets of a very thick Paper, fupposed to be made of Cotton, or the Bark of Trees, laid over with two Varnifhes one above the other,

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one blue, and the other black, as appeared in some Places that were a little scaled. The Characters seemed well shaped, were not joined together, and were painted in white. The Lines were written horizontally; but being all of an equal Length, it could not be determined whether they ran from the Left to the Right, after the Manner of the *Europeans* and *Indians*; or from the Right to the Left, like the *Hebrews* and *Arabians*. Though it was not yet known from what Nation those Characters were derived, there was Ground to believe they came from the *Calmucks* and *Moguls* to the Westward of *China*, which is the more probable, because the Country of the *Calmucks*, in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth Centuries, was the Centre of two large Empires, under the Successors of *Ginghis* and *Tamerlane*; among which Princes there were some very learned, whose Works in Astronomy and Geography were held in very great Esteem in *Europe*. Besides the Discovery of this Library, which the Czar looked upon as a precious Treasure, the Peasants in the Neighbourhood of the Ruins that inclosed it, produced several Statues in Brass, which they had found in the Middle of the Woods, in the Burying-Places of the *Calmucks*, and among those which the Czar repositied in his own Cabinet, was a *Roman* General crowned with Laurel; two other Figures of Men on Horseback, with Armour like that worn in the West in the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries; several *Indian* Idols, and among them, two of the famous Goddesses known in *China*, by the Name of *Poussa*, and in *Thibet*, by that of *Manippe*. The People of *Tartary*, *China*, *Siam*, and the *Indians*, worship her as the Mother of one of their Prophets, who lived six hundred Years before *JESUS CHRIST*; and in *China*, is called *Foe*; in *Tartary*, *Ogouskan*; in *Siam*, *Sommona-Kodon*; and in *India*, *Bondda*. The *Siamese*, who pay him the Homage of a Deity, date their publick Writings from the Epoch of his Death; which preceeds the Christian *Æra* five hundred and forty-five Years.

From what has been said, it is easy to imagine, that, although *Myrr-Magbmud* had not behaved with the Insolence

lence he did, his Imperial Majesty would never have wanted a Pretence to have transported his Army to the Frontiers of *Persia*, which he was now resolved to command in Person, and which consisted of above a hundred thousand Men, among whom were no less than thirty-three thousand of those warlike Troops which had been in every Campaign during the War with *Sweden*.

His Imperial Majesty before he left *Moscow* for this Expedition, having been again seized with a violent Fit of the Cholick, had, for fear of an Accident, caused a Will, written entirely with his own Hand, and particularly appointing his Successor, to be placed among the Records of the Empire; he changed the Presidents of the greatest Part of the Colleges, established a Council of Regency, in which Prince *Menzikoff* presided, and made many other necessary Regulations. He also convoked a General Synod, all the Members of which obliged themselves, by several most solemn Oaths, to declare their most sincere Sentiments, as dictated by their own Hearts, according to the best of their Knowledge and Understanding in the Scripture, to conform to the Regulations which should be there made. They swore in the same most solemn Manner, that they would acknowledge themselves to be, as they were obliged, both by Duty and Conscience, the faithful Subjects and Servants of the Emperor *PETER* the First, who was their natural, true, and lawful Sovereign; and after him, of whomsoever his Majesty, by his absolute and indisputable Authority, should declare his Successor in his Will; and that they would venture their Lives and Fortunes in his Service, and would discover any evil Design against his Person or Government, as soon as any such should come to their Knowledge.

The Person who took this Oath, kissed the Words which were written, and a Cross that was offered to him; and then subscribed them with his Name.

The Emperor *PETER* having thus caused himself to be acknowledged Sovereign Pontiff, or Chief of the *Russian* Church, and of Consequence first President of the Synod, he opened it, after he had published a Declaration, the Preamble of which was as follows:

*We* PETER the First, by the Divine Grace, Emperor of all Russia, &c. among the many Cares, which the Empire committed to us by the Almighty, requires for the good Government of our Kingdoms and Conquests, we have cast our Eyes on the spiritual State thereof; and finding many Disorders and Irregularities, we should think ourselves wanting in our Duty, and guilty of Ingratitude, if, after we have so happily succeeded, by his holy and gracious Assistance, in regulating our Military and Civil, we should neglect the Spiritual State, &c.

Having declared in general Terms, the Motives that induced him to establish the Synod, he proceeded to enumerate many Abuses and Superstitions, and to shew the Necessity of having them enquired into and remedied; and to remove the Cause, by degrading and lopping off from the Service of the Church, such Priests and Monks as had introduced or encouraged them, through Interest or Ignorance, forbidding any Person to be admitted to the Priesthood for the Time to come, who had not Qualities requisite for it, who was not well read in the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers, Canons, and Ecclesiastical History, whose Life was not exemplary, and who was not as capable as desirous to undeceive the People. To this End, he ordered the Establishment of Colleges and Seminaries in the capital Cities of Russia, as there were in other Christian Countries.

He caused an Enquiry to be made into the Revenues of the Church, which were found to be very rich; but the common People seemed to be much displeased, that in Pursuance of the Regulations concerning Divine Service, which were chiefly composed by the Czar himself, the little Chapels were all abolished, and the Images that stood in Niches therein exposed in the Streets

The Nobility of the lower Order having made Complaints of their being oppressed by the Nobility of higher Rank, his Imperial Majesty, before he set out on his intended Expedition, established an High Commission-Court to examine into those Grievances, and to see them redressed. At length the Emperor and Empress of Russia went from Moscow, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of May, for

*Colonna*, with Design to continue their Voyage to *African* by Water. The Grand-Admiral *Apraxin*, Lieutenant-General *Buturlin*, Prince *Trubetskoi*, the Hospodar *Demetrius Cantemir*, and the Privy-Counsellor *Tolstoi*, were gone before. It was at *Colonna* that the Envoy of the *States-General* came to notify to his Imperial Majesty the Resolution he had received from their High Mightinesses, by which they recognized the Title of Emperor given to his Majesty by the Senate. The Emperor made his Acknowledgments to the Minister, and declared to him in Return the particular Orders he had given, that the Ships of *Holland* should be expedited preferably to those of all other Nations.

While this Monarch was going to begin a War at so great a Distance, and of such Importance, his Fleet and his Troops did not remain idle on the Side of *Poland* and *Prussia*. Admiral *Gordon* put to Sea with the Fleet, while the Troops assembled in *Courland*, *Livonia*, and the *Ukrain*; not with the View of undertaking any Thing, but to check the Designs that any neighbouring Princes might have of forming Projects to take Advantage of the Emperor's Absence.

The *Turks* were no sooner informed of the Preparations that were making in *African* and the other Eastern Provinces of the *Russian* Empire, but they took Umbrage at them; the Bashaws who commanded on the Frontiers of *Persia*, and of *Gurgistan* or *Georgia*, gave Advice to the *Porte*, that the Emperor of *Russia* had formed a Project to subdue the last named Province, in which Case above four hundred thousand Mussulmans would fall into Slavery; and that it was easy to foresee that the chief View of that Prince was to make himself Master of the *Caspian* Sea. The Grand-Vizir made these Suspicions known to the *Russian* Minister at *Constantinople*, and sent an Aga to his Imperial Czarish Majesty to dissuade him from the Enterprize, and to penetrate into his Designs. The Emperor upon this informed the Sublime *Porte* of the insolent Behaviour of the Rebel *Myrr-Maghmud*, whose Progress was the more to be feared, as he had discovered so much Pride and Ambition; and whose rude Treatment of him, in the

Person



Person of his Minister, he was determined to revenge ; but the better to make his Intentions known to the *Turks* and *Persians*, he caused the following Manifesto to be published, and distributed all along the Borders of the *Caspian Sea*, before he began his Expedition.

**H**IS Imperial Majesty of *Russia* has thought proper to cause Notice to be given to all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Persia*, the faithful Subjects of the *Sophi*, as also to all others under his Protection, that his Imperial Majesty is arrived on the *Persian* Frontiers with his Land and Sea Forces, not with any Intention to reduce some Provinces of that Kingdom to his Obedience, but only to maintain the lawful Possessor of them on his Throne, and to defend him powerfully, together with his faithful Subjects, against the Tyranny of *Myrr-Magbmud*, and also to draw Satisfaction from the said *Myrr-Magbmud* and his *Tartars*, for the Mischiefs and Robberies by them committed within the *Russian* Empire, and for several other Matters. As by this may be manifestly seen his Imperial Majesty's good Intentions, he graciously warns all Persons who yet continue under the Command of *Myrr-Magbmud*, Tyrannick Chief of the Rebel *Tartars*, to abandon immediately his Army, to return to their lawful Sovereign, and pay that Fidelity and Obedience to him which they ought ; and such Persons who hereafter shall be taken persisting in their Disloyalty and Rebellion, may be assured of receiving no Mercy or Pardon. Moreover, we have given Order to our Troops, under severe Pains, not to do any Violence, nor to pillage, to burn, or to commit the least Disorder on the Frontiers of *Persia*, or against any of the Inhabitants and Subjects of that Kingdom."

In short the *Schah Hussein*, drove from his Capital by *Myrr-Magbmud*, had sent three Expresses successively to his Imperial Majesty, to implore his Assistance, on Conditions too advantageous to the *Russians*, for so wise a Prince as PETER to neglect.

The following is an Extract of the Emperor's Journal from *Astracan* to *Derbent*, which his Majesty sent himself to his Senate.

**JULY** the 29<sup>th</sup>, at Seven o'Clock this Evening, the whole Fleet set sail, to the Number of two hundred and seventy-four large Vessels, of which thirty-four were Transports.

30<sup>th</sup>, We arrived at the Mouth of the *Volga*, and on the 31<sup>st</sup>, at *Tschetyre-Burgonoi*, where we received a Letter from *Aldigirey*, the *Chefcal*, or Governor of *Terki*.

*August* the 1<sup>st</sup>, We set sail, and came to an Anchor twenty-four Hours afterwards near *Gniloy Labugin*.

3<sup>d</sup>, The Fleet set sail at Five o'Clock this Morning, and in the Evening arrived at *Souetkin*.

4<sup>th</sup>, At Nine this Morning we sailed from *Souetkin*, and came to an Anchor between Four and Five in the Afternoon at the Mouth of the River of *Terki*. The same Day Lieutenant *Lapachia* was sent to the *Chefcal* of *Terki* with Manifesto's printed in the *Turkish* Language. His Orders were to deliver with his own Hands some Copies to the *Chefcal*, and send the rest to *Derbent*, *Schamachia*, and *Baku*, by thirty *Tartars* belonging to *Terki* and *Circassia*, whom he had taken with him for that Purpose.

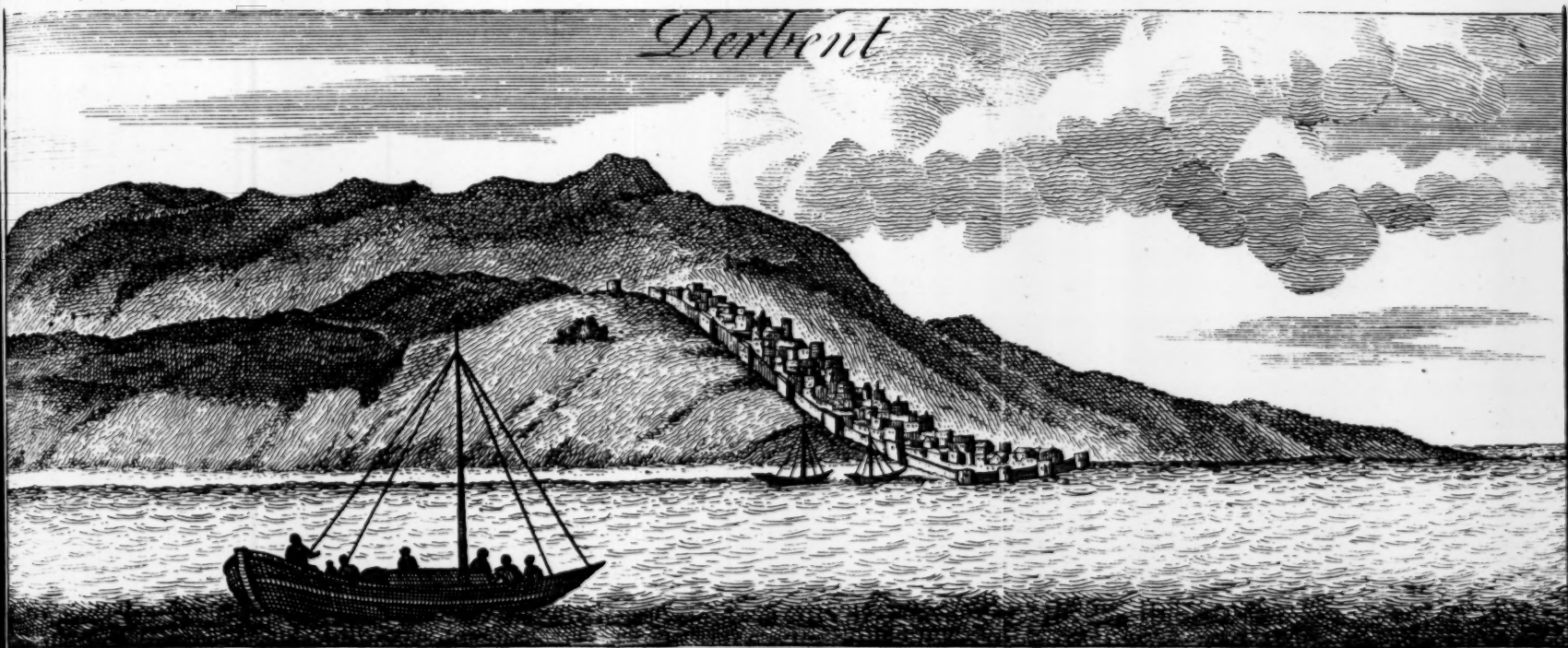
6<sup>th</sup>, News came this Morning from Brigadier *Wetteran*, that he had beaten and dispersed a Body of five thousand Men who were come out of *Andreoff*; and that afterwards he had burnt their City, in which were about three hundred Houses.

We weighed Anchor at Three in the Afternoon, and went farther up the Bay nearer the Port; Lieutenant *Siomonoff* was sent towards the Shore, to find a convenient Place for landing.

7<sup>th</sup>, The Ships drew towards the Place he had found out, *viz.* near the Mouth of the River of *Agrackan*.

8<sup>th</sup>, At Six this Morning the Admiral made the Signal for landing the Troops. All the Infantry got to the Shore, and encamped about Noon, notwithstanding the Difficulties they met with; for the Boats not being  
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*Derbent*



*To L<sup>d</sup>. John Heathcote Bar.*  
*This PLATE is most humbly Dedicated*

*J. Spindelowe sculp.*

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able to get nearer Land than seventy Furlongs Distance, and there being no Wood to make Bridges, the Men were obliged to carry their Baggage, Provision, and Ammunition on their Backs.

11<sup>th</sup>, We began to throw up an Intrenchment along the Shore, for the Security of the Shipping.

16<sup>th</sup>, Early this Morning the whole Body of Infantry began their March towards *Tarku*, leaving only two hundred Soldiers, and a thousand *Cessacks* in the fore-said Intrenchment, under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel *Masloff*: The sick Men and all the Fleet were likewise left there.

17<sup>th</sup>, At Three in the Afternoon, our Army came to the Passage at the River *Soulake*; there we made two Ferries, one upon four small Boats, the other upon three: Towards Evening the Governor of *Gerfski*, *Aldigiry Chescal*, and the Governor of *Axay*, *Sulian Mahmet*, came to wait upon the Czar. The first brought six hundred Waggon for the Baggage, drawn by Oxen, and one hundred and fifty Oxen for the Soldiers Subsistence, besides three fine *Persian* Horses, with exceeding rich Furniture, for his Czarish Majesty: The second likewise brought one hundred Oxen for the Soldiers, and six *Persian* Horses for the Czar.

18<sup>th</sup>, This Morning, at Seven o'Clock, the Vanguard crossed the River by Means of the two Ferries: But towards Noon a great Storm arose and occasioned a Flood, which obliged us to change our Ground. We found eight small Boats on the Shore; these served us to make a Ferry Boat; and also two others, with Casks, Wheels, and Rushes.

19<sup>th</sup>, This Afternoon the Body of the Army began to ferry over the River; and on the 21<sup>st</sup>, it was followed by the Rear guard. This Transport-Service was very difficult, because the Ferries could serve only for Men, Artillery, Baggage, Provision, and Ammunition, but not being able to get near enough the Shore, the Men were forced to go up to the Waist in Water: The Horses, Oxen, Camels, Waggon, and Chaises were all swam over.



22<sup>d</sup>, The Van-guard and Body of the Army began their March, being preceded by Brigadier *Wetteran*, with half the Cavalry and *Cossacks*, who were under his Command. The Rear-guard was ordered to stay for the rest, who were sent back to the Intrenchment for Provisions.

At eight *Wersts* or Miles Distance from the River of *Soulake* we came to a Brook, which we got over upon Fascines. We crossed afterwards the Mountains of *Tarku*, and passed that Night within eight Miles of that City. We were in great Want of Water almost during this whole March.

Being arrived the 23<sup>d</sup> within five Miles of *Tarku*, the *Chefcal* came out to meet us, and conducted us to the City : At three Miles Distance from it we saw the Ruins of a great City, which extended from the Mountains to the Sea-side.

26<sup>th</sup>, Letters came this Day from the Governor of *Derbent*, and other Officers of that City, acquainting us, that they had received with great Satisfaction the Manifesto's we had sent them ; expressing their Joy at the Czar's Arrival, and assuring, that they would look upon all such of their Inhabitants to be Traitors, who should oppose his Majesty's Troops.

27<sup>th</sup>, We marched towards the little River *Manas*, twenty-five Miles from *Tarku*.

28<sup>th</sup>, We passed this River, and afterwards that of *Boinac-Atzi*, upon which we found a Bridge of Stone : We saw on the Mountains of this Place several Foundations, which were probably the Remains of an antient City. At Night we came to old *Boinac*.

29<sup>th</sup>, This Night we encamped near the little River *Nitzi*, in *Sultan Udenich's* Dominions.

30<sup>th</sup>, Three *Cossacks* were sent to the Inhabitants, to require them to send a Deputation on their Part in order to a Conference, and to receive such Orders as should be given them ; but the Guide being returned, told us they had been very ill received, and that the three *Cossacks* had made their Escape. About Three in the Afternoon the *Sultan* came and attacked our *Cossacks*, and afterwards advanced towards the Dragoons ; but our

our Men put them presently to Flight, killed six hundred, and took thirty-nine Prisoners. The *Sultan's* Residence was plundered and burnt; six other Villages had likewise the same Fate, and there we found our three *Cossacks* inhumanly massacred; upon which the Prisoners were put to the Rack. There were among them some Persons of Distinction: They declared that they did not know the Cause of that Cruelty, but said it was done by Order of the *Sultan* himself. The Enemies Number was ten thousand.

September 1<sup>st</sup>, This Day one and twenty of the Prisoners were put to Death by Way of Reprisal, for the Murder of our three *Cossacks*. Another Prisoner had his Nose and Ears cut off, and was sent to carry a Letter to the Enemy, reproaching them for their Cruelty. We lay at Night near the River of *Bouge Bagam*, over which we laid two Bridges, one of Boats, the other of Fascines: Here the Infantry passed over; the Horse marched along the Sea-side, because the Mouth of the River is blocked up with Sand, under which it empties itself imperceptibly.

2<sup>d</sup>, We marched forwards, and encamped near the River of *Darbach*. A Letter came from the Inhabitants of *Baku*, signifying their Joy at the *Czar's* Arrival in the Province of *Schirvan*, ardently desiring to commit themselves to his Majesty's Protection, and to be delivered from the Rebels, who had taken Arms against the *Sophi of Persia*, and against whom they had defended themselves for two Years past.

3<sup>d</sup>, We drew near to the Gardens of *Derbent*; the Governor came out of the City to meet the *Czar*, and at his Entrance presented him with the Keys. The Army marched through the City under a triple Salvo of all the Artillery; afterwards we went and encamped by the Sea-side: We found in *Derbent* a hundred old Iron Guns, and sixty Brass, with a great Quantity of Ammunition.

The *Russians* were received with as much Joy in this City, as if they came to deliver their own Troops from some Siege. His Imperial Majesty staid there some Time, to give necessary Orders, and in the mean Time,

the Army marched towards the River *Millukenti*, fifteen Wersts from *Derbent*, without meeting an Enemy. But the Provisions which they had brought with them, but for one Month only, being almost spent, and it being impossible to have any brought to them by the *Caspian* Sea in a Season so far advanced, his Majesty made this River the Boundary of his Conquests for this Year, and, having left a strong Garrison in *Derbent*, returned to *Astracan*; but in his Way thither meeting, near the River *Soulfaci*, a Place much more commodious than that near *Acragan*, where the *Russians* had cast up their first Intrenchments, his Imperial Majesty ordered a Fortrefs to be erected, to which he gave the Name of the *Holy Cross*.

On the twenty-fifth of *September*, the Emperor detached ten thousand *Cossacks* and four thousand *Calmucks*, under the Command of *Iwan Krasnos Jotrenki*, to ravage the Territories of the *Persian Usmei* and Sultan *Mahmut* of *Utemischoff*, by Way of Reprisal for their harraßing the *Russian* Troops in their March: The next Day the *Cossacks* and *Calmucks* joining the *Bougnakes*, immediately fell into their Territories, and after having entirely routed them, put a great Number of the Rebels to the Sword, and took near four hundred Prisoners; when they returned happily, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of the same Month, to the Intrenchments his *Russian* Majesty had ordered to be cast up in the Defile near the Bay of *Acragan*, from whence he sent back his Horse by Land, and re-imbarked on Board his Fleet in the *Caspian* Sea, with his Infantry, for *Astracan*.

During this Expedition, the Rebel *Myrr-Maghmut* did all that was in his Power to cross the Designs of the *Russians*; he had engaged the neighbouring *Tartars* to harass them in their March, and was advanced himself towards *Ghilan* with a Body of Troops, which arrived too late for the Czar to come to an Engagement with them: But the Generals whom he had left at *Derbent*, having got together the *Calmucks*, *Cossacks*, and *Tartars*, that were near, and, supporting them with their regular Troops, fell with such Fury upon the wearied Army of the Rebels, that they were soon put

to Flight : Some of the *Chams*, or Princes, who had seemed to submit, changed their Conduct, as soon as they thought the Emperor at a Distance ; others sought the Protection of the *Russians* ; and all Things continued in that fluctuating Condition which is usual among People so inconstant as the *Tartars* and *Persians*.

Their Imperial Majesties being returned to *Moscow*, entered that City in Triumph, every body meeting their victorious Sovereign with the loudest Acclamations of Joy. There was carried on a Cushion, in a pompous Manner before him, the Silver Key of the City of *Derbent*, which had been presented to him when he entered that Place ; and as it was the common Opinion that the City had been built by *Alexander the Great*, the following Inscription was put upon one of the Triumphal Arches erected in Honour of the Victor.

*StrV Xerat hanC fort Is, tenet  
hanC seD fort lor VrbeM.*

The Power of the *Russians*, which was shewn in subduing so great a Part of the Country, and especially *Derbent*, the Key of *Persia*, began somewhat to dismay *Myrr-Magbmud* : He had a great Number of Enemies in the Bosom of *Persia*, who now saw through the Veil of his Hypocrisy ; and the *Persians*, always faithful to their Kings, could not forgive his having dethroned and drove away *Husseïn*, whose Fate they were ignorant of : Some said he was dead ; others, that he was concealed in a strong Castle ; and some, that he had been taken Prisoner by the *Turks*. In short, this Rebel could not confide in his *Tartars*, who disapproved his Ambition ; he therefore endeavoured to procure a stronger Support from *Constantinople*, whither he sent an Ambassador to the Grand Signior, to whom he was to remonstrate, that both the Glory and Religion of the Mussulmans were interested in opposing the *Russian* Conquests ; that as the Czar had already subdued *Dagestan* and *Schirvan*, he would not stop on so fair a Road, but certainly the next Summer throw his Arms into *Georgia*, where there were several Christian Princes who would lend him a

helping Hand, that they might be able to withdraw themselves from the Dominion of the *Turks*; and lastly, that he had been informed, that the *Russians* entered *Persia* at the Desire of *Hussain*, who had promised to yield to them all they should conquer on the Borders of the *Caspian Sea*. The *Persian* Ambassador acquitted himself perfectly well of this Commission, and especially as he was charged with magnificent Presents for the Ministers of the *Porte*. The Janizaries and the common People had, for a long Time, breathed nothing but War; the *Musti* was a declared Enemy to the *Russians*; old *Dowlet-Gerbai*, just set upon the Throne of the *Crimea*, desired nothing more than an Opportunity of shewing the Hatred he bore them: There was only the Grand Vizir who was for Peace, and he dared not express himself openly, for Fear of irritating the opposite Party; for which Reason, while all imaginable Preparations were making for War, he sent an Ambassador to the Emperor of *Russia*, to be informed of his Designs, and whether or not he intended to push his Conquests farther on the *Caspian Sea*. The Emperor answered, that the *Porte* had approved of his having Recourse to Arms, to take Vengeance for the Insults offered, and the Injuries done to him and his Subjects, by the Rebel *Myrr-Maghmud* and his Allies; that the *Russians* had undertaken nothing against the Dominions of his Highness; and, in a Word, that he was sincerely disposed to a faithful Observation of the last Treaty of Peace.

But notwithstanding the Grand Signior seemed well satisfied for the present, with this Answer of his Imperial *Russian* Majesty; yet, that all the Blame might be laid on him, if a War should ensue, and to comply with the Importunities of the Prince of *Dagestan*, who had lately thrown himself under the Protection of the *Porte*, the Grand Vizier caused the following Manifesto to be published, and communicated to the Foreign Ministers.

“ **I**T is very well known, that the Emperor of *Russia* caused it to be declared to the Sublime *Porte*,



*Porte*, at the Beginning of the last Year 1722, that he intended to set out for *Astracan*, in order to pursue his Enemy, the *Persian* Rebel *Myrr-Maghmud*, and declare War against him : But the Grand Sultan heard afterwards, that the said Emperor was come with a great Army before the City of *Derbent*, called *Demir-Capi*, and several other Places in that Neighbourhood, which heretofore were dependent on the *Sublime Porte*, and, by Occasion of the Wars in *Europe*, had been retaken by the *Persians* and other Princes ; infomuch that the said Emperor spoiled *Flagi Damit*, the Prince of *Dagestan*, and of *Derbent*, a faithful Mussulman, of his rightful Principality ; which necessitated this Prince to have Recourse to the Grand Signior's Protection, demanding his powerful Succour against the *Russians*, as against People that never had any Right in that Principality, upon Condition and Promise of yielding to the Grand Sultan, as his own Property and Demesne, and to hold of his Sublime Highness, by Faith and Homages, all that he could re-conquer by the *Porte's* Assistance, or force the *Persians* to yield to them. Moreover, the Grand Signior having deliberated upon this Offer and Request, took the said Prince, according to the Laws of his Empire, under his High Imperial Protection, honouring him with the Horse-Tails and with Banners, (as is practised with the Cham of *Crim Tartary*) and also with the Title of Cham of his now lost Principality of *Derbent*. That in Pursuance of this Acknowledgment, the Grand Sultan is resolved to procure the said Prince his Re-establishment in his Dominions, Titles, and Dignity, and therein to maintain him ; as also to conserve Peace with the *Russian* Emperor, provided that preliminarily he abandons his Conquests, seeing that the most High *Porte* will not, nor cannot suffer, that a faithful Mussulman should in any Manner be molested, or unjustly grieved by Christians ; and the rather, there being in the Principality of *Derbent* a great Mosque, built formerly by an antient Vizier, *Ali Pasca*. For which Reasons it is manifest, that if the *Russian* Emperor has any Intention to preserve Peace with the *Sublime Porte*,

*Porte*, he will do well to order the said Principality to be reitored to the despoiled Cham."

The Grand Signior, in order to shew that he really intended to declare War with *Russia*, caused the Inclinations of the Emperor of the West to be sounded, and an Enquiry to be made, whether or not he was under any Engagements, in case of a Rupture, to take Arms in favour of the *Russian* Emperor. On this Occasion the Emperor *Charles* did a very seasonable Service to the *Russian* Monarch, by assuring the *Turk*, that his Interests were so strongly united to those of the Emperor of *Russia*, that if he was attacked, he should be obliged to march to his Assistance. The Grand Vizier made his Use of this, to moderate the Precipitation of those who had already prepared a Declaration of War against the *Russians*; but nothing went farther towards obliging the Sultan to renounce his Design of breaking with the Czar, than the good Offices of the Marquis *de Bonac*, the Ambassador of *France*, who represented to the *Porte*, that the Sultan had no Reason to complain of the Emperor of *Russia*, since he had not carried the War to the Frontiers of *Persia*, but with his Participation and good Liking, and to revenge such Insults as no Sovereign Prince could suffer with Impunity; that he had acted in nothing contrary to the Treaty of Peace subsisting between him and the *Sublime Porte*; that the Cham *Flagi-Damit*, who had just then put himself under the Protection of his Highness, was a Tributary of *Persia*, and a Partizan of *Myrr-Maghmunud*, who had not reclaimed the Protection of the *Porte*, till after he was drove out of his Country for his Infidelity: Lastly, that if the *Porte* took Umbrage at the Conquests of the Emperor of *Russia*, he was perfectly disposed not to push them any farther; although he had already a considerable Number of Forces assembled on the Frontiers of *Persia*, to succour the *Schah*, his Ally, who had implored his Assistance against a faithless and rebellious Subject.

This Assurance of the Czar's pushing his Conquests no farther, which was all that the *Porte* required, made them lend an Ear to the friendly Offices of M. *de Bonac*,

*nac*,

nac, and appear satisfied without the immediate Restitution of *Derbent*, as had been demanded in the Manifesto above.

During this Negotiation, the People of *Ghilan*, a Province of *Persia* bordering on *Schirvan* and the *Caspian* Sea, where *Myrr-Maghmud* had ravaged all the Country, to prevent the *Russians* having any Subsistence, and of Consequence, to stop their Progress into *Persia*, had implored the Protection of *Russia*, and submitted themselves, of their own Accord, to his Imperial Czarish Majesty. This News astonishing the Bashaws, who commanded in the neighbouring Provinces, that of *Erzerum* informed the *Porte* of it, with such Circumstances, as made it believed that the *Russians* had a Design upon all *Georgia*. This Advice had like to have overturned all that Monsieur de *Bonac* had been doing; but an Ambassador from the dethroned *Schah*, who arrived at that Time, to implore the Assistance of the *Porte* against the Usurper *Myrr-Maghmud*, and the Assurances of the *Russian* Minister, that his Master should fulfil the Promises of the *French* Ambassador, put a Stop at *Constantinople* to all Thoughts but of maintaining Peace with *Russia*; to which End, Orders were sent not only to the Bashaws of the Frontier-Places, but even to the Cham of *Crim Tartary*; in short, the Grand Signior employed against *Persia* itself the great Preparations he had been making, since so favourable an Occasion offered to recover what the *Turks* had formerly possessed beyond the *Euphrates*.

How important soever these Affairs, and how much of his Attention they required, as well as to maintain a sufficient Force on the Frontiers of *Poland* and *Finland*; yet did not these prevent the *Russian* Emperor from having a watchful Eye on the State of his Affairs at Home; for no sooner was he returned, after a Year's Absence from *Moscow* and *Petersburgh*, than he made a Discovery of fresh Criminals; and some of the principal Persons of the Regency were found guilty of Concussions, and condemned to severe Punishments.

Baron *Schafsfreß*, Vice-Chancellor, Favourite of his Majesty, and first Minister, was arrested, and put to the

*Question*.

*Question.* It was commanded by a publick Ordinance, that whoever knew any thing concerning the Matters laid to his Charge, should declare them upon Pain of Death. The Process against him was soon ended, when he was convicted of the five following Articles. 1<sup>st</sup>, That he had given to his Brother a Character and Appointments unknown to the Emperor and the Senate. 2<sup>d</sup>, That he had signed and given out Orders unknown to the Senate, without having them registered. 3<sup>d</sup>, That being Director of the Posts, he had, of his own Authority, augmented the Postage of Letters, and reserved the Money to himself. 4<sup>th</sup>, That he had concealed two hundred thousand Ducats in Specie, and to the Value of seventy Thousand more in Jewels, belonging to Prince *Gagarin*, although he himself had signed the Order of the Emperor, which obliged every one, who knew of any of the Effects of that Criminal, to discover them. 5<sup>th</sup>, That he had used opprobrious Language to some of the Senators in full Senate, which was forbid on Pain of Death.

The Evening before the Sentence was to be put in Execution against this Minister, the People were advertised of it, by Sound of Trumpet, so that great Crowds were assembled by nine o'Clock in the Morning, before the Senate-House, when Baron *Schafiroff* was led to the Scaffold, accompanied by two Priests, who, for two Days together, had been preparing him for Death. His Sentence was read aloud to him, which he heard with great Resignation; and having put his Head on the Block, the Instant the Executioner lifted up the Ax, a Herald, appointed by the Emperor, cried out, *Mercy to the Criminal for his Life by Command of his Imperial Majesty.* Upon which he was taken off the Scaffold, and carried back to the Prison of the *Preobrazinski*. The Emperor, in Consideration of his past Services, changed his Sentence of Death into that of perpetual Banishment into *Siberia*, with Confiscation of his Estate and Goods. Other Criminals, as *Kirioff*, Secretary of the Senate, Major-General *Pisaroff*, and the Baron's Secretary, were differently punished by the Knout, or otherwise.

Monfieur

Monfieur de la Motraye gives the following Account of Baron *Schafiroff*, and the Occasion of this fevere Sentence paffed upon him. “ Baron *Schafiroff*, faith he, “ was generally allowed to be the moft able Miniſter “ that *Peter I.* ever had. He was the principal Perſon “ in all *Ruffia* for the Knowledge of foreign as well as “ domeſtick Affairs, and as much eſteemed by that “ Emperor, as Prince *Menzikoff* was beloved by him. “ But he was one of thoſe who endeavoured the moſt “ vigorously, and even publickly, for a long Time, to “ deſtroy that Favourite; but the Attempt ended in his “ own Ruin. They had in 1723, ſo violent a Diſpute “ with each other, that the *Czar* could not avoid tak- “ ing a more particular Notice of it than of any of “ their former Differences. The Baron accuſed the “ Prince to his Face, of the moſt flagrant Extortions for “ his own Profit, which appeared ſo evident from the “ Proofs he gave, and the Complaints of the injured “ Parties, that the *Czar* gave the Knout to the Prince “ with his own Hand: But in Conſideration of his ex- “ traordinary Talents for raiſing Monies, which he “ wanted for the Execution of his great Deſigns, he “ ſtill continued him in Favour. The Prince remon- “ ſtrated to his Maſteſty in ſo pathetick a Manner, that “ whatever he had raiſed upon his Subjects, was not “ only at his Service, but all that himſelf poſſeſſed, “ which he confeſſed was owing to his Maſteſty’s Bounty, “ was likewise at his Diſpoſal; that the *Czar* embraced “ him very affectionately, and kiſſed him, and, in a “ Manner, aſked his Pardon. The Prince, to revenge “ himſelf the more advantageouſly of the Baron, who was “ very rich, eſpecially in ready Money, which was “ his greateſt Crime; accuſed him, in his Turn, of “ embezzling the publick Treafure: The *Czar* believed “ the Accuſation, or at leaſt ſeemed to do ſo, in order “ to ſeize upon his Riches. He condemned him not “ only to loſe all his Eſtate, but his Head likewise. “ Accordingly he was led to the Scaffold, and the Exe- “ cutioner was preparing to behead him, when his Ma- “ jeſty graciouſly changed his Punishment to Banish-  
“ ment,



" ment, out of regard to the great Services he had done him. " \*

The Emperor of *Russia*, after having given Orders to transport Ammunition, Provisions, Artillery, and the necessary Troops to *Astracan*, against the next Campaign, took the Route of *Petersburgh* in the Beginning of *March*, whither the Empress and all the Court followed him ; but before his Departure, he sent Orders to the *Russian* Ecclesiasticks in that City, to compose all Differences between themselves and the reformed Clergy, before his Arrival there ; otherwise he would severely punish the Authors of their Divisions, he being firmly resolved to take all Protestant Families under his Protection, and to give Proofs of his Benevolence to such as were already there, or that might hereafter settle there. This shews how firmly he maintained his Power over the Clergy, no mean Conquest in a Prince ! And is agreeable to what I have related in the former Part of this History, concerning what he said at a Conference with Sir *Gilbert Heathcote* and other Merchants of the *East-Land* Company. The words he spoke, tho' to the same Import, were not exactly as I have there given them, but these : *When I return to my own Country, you shall see I will make my Priests preach what I please.* This I have been informed of, since the first Volume of this Work was printed, by a Gentleman who has more than once heard the Words repeated by Sir *Gilbert Heathcote* himself.

His Majesty was no sooner arrived at *Petersburgh*, than he went to visit the Docks and Ship-Yards, to see himself the Condition his Ships were in, of which he intended to put a numerous Squadron to Sea the following Summer, that he might constantly keep his Marine in play. He had moreover, it is said, other Views, and was not well satisfied with the Conduct of the Court of *Denmark*, which had not only abandoned him to make a separate

\* The Baron *Schafiroff* was raised by his Merit, from an ordinary Writer in one of the Courts of Justice at *Moscow*, to the Dignity of Chancellor. *A. de la Motraye's Travels*, Vol. III. P. 151.

Peace with *Sweden*, but was in some Manner leagued with the King of *England*. His Majesty had seen himself the Court of *Denmark*, and was acquainted with her Genius and Ministry, which made him seem resolved to pursue the Matter he had in Dispute with her. He had two Pretensions on that Crown; one was the Restitution of the Dominions taken from the Duke of *Holslein*; the other, the Freedom of his Ships in the *Sound*: The *Russian* Emperor imagined that he now saw a favourable Opportunity to strike this double Blow; for if he beat the *Danish* Squadron, built by his Example, or by Way of Precaution, nothing could hinder his making a Descent in *Jutland* and *Holslein*: But be this as it may, by this Management he obliged *Denmark* to run into such Expences every Year, as very much drained their Coffers.

In the Review that his Imperial Majesty made of his Navy, he found several Pinks and Ships of Burthen that had been taken from the *Swedes* in the last War, to which he joined others built in the Ports of *Livonia*, and distributed them among the Cities of *Petersburgh*, *Riga*, *Revel*, *Wybourg*, and his other conquered Places, in order to have them always employed in Trade, and transporting Merchandizes to foreign Countries, and in bringing home others from thence. Twelve Men were to be constantly kept in pay on board each Ship, eight being to be furnished by his Imperial Majesty, and the other four by the Magistrates, who were to maintain the whole Number: But in Case one of the Ships given by his Majesty should be lost, or become unfit for Navigation, the Magistrates were bound to provide a new Ship in Lieu thereof, of the same Kind and Burthen. By this Course, and other like proper Methods, his Imperial Majesty hoped to accustom his People, by little and little, to the Use of the Sea, and the Affairs of Commerce.

Not long after their Imperial Majesties Return to *Petersburgh*, died, in the sixtieth Year of her Age, the Princess *Mary Alexowna*, Sister to his Majesty, whom he buried with very great Pomp, although her Conduct

had

had not been such as could create any Love or Esteem in him.

The States of Sweden being assembled, to regulate many important Affairs of Government, his Imperial Majesty advised the Duke of *Holstein* to send M. *Bassewitz* his Minister thither, to manage his Interests in that Kingdom, which the *Russian* Ministers had Orders to support. That Prince had no longer any Claim to the Succession by Hereditary Right, such Right having been abolished on the Death of *Charles XII.* and the Crown made elective for the future, if the present Queen should die without Issue of her own Body ; but the Duke of *Holstein* flattered himself that the *Swedes*, who had always cherished the Blood of their Kings, would prefer him to any other, if the Throne should become vacant ; and as one good Step towards it, he moved the States at this Time to acknowledge him as next of Kin to her present Majesty, and to allow him the Title of *Royal Highness*. The Secret Committee, to whose Examination this was referred, made a Report, “ That having  
“ considered that Affair with all possible Attention, and  
“ weighed the Reasons both for and against it, they had  
“ found it to be grounded on so many Motives and  
“ Reasons, (which were not proper to be declared in  
“ full Assembly by Reason of their Delicacy) that it  
“ cannot dissuade the Estates and the King from granting the said Title to the Duke of *Holstein* ; and that  
“ in case it were resolved by the Assembly, it might  
“ nevertheless be referred to the King, and to the Senate, to be treated upon as a foreign Matter.”

This Report occasioned great Debates: Some were for having the Business determined on the Spot ; but that being opposed by most of the Nobility, the farther Consideration of it was put off to the Morrow ; when the King and Queen wrote each of them a Letter to the States, signifying their great Surprise, that they should appear so ready to give the Title of *Royal Highness* to the Duke of *Holstein*. Their Majesties declared at the same Time, that they could never consent to it, for the Reasons alledged in their Letters. Upon this there arose warmer Debates than before, and not being able then to

come

come to a final Resolution, it was judged convenient to invite the Senate in a Body to a Conference, two Days after, with the Secret Committee, to deliberate conjointly on this Affair, and give their Opinion afterwards to the Assembly. The Senate, meeting on the Day appointed at the Chamber of the Nobility, took the proper Oaths of Secrecy, and then entered into Conference with the Secret Committee, and were at it from Eight o'Clock in the Morning till past eight at Night, without Interruption. A few Days after the States being re-assembled, the Opinion of the Senate was read to them, containing in Substance, " That having maturely weighed " and considered the Reasons for and against this Affair " by the Secret Committee, the Senate could not enough " commend the indefatigable Zeal of the said Committee, nor in Conscience dispense from conforming " to its Opinion; declaring that it was possible, without Prejudice to the Honour and Prerogative of their " Majesties, to give the Title of *Royal Highness* to the " Duke of *Holstein*; being farther of Opinion, it could " contribute only to the Honour, to the Prosperity, and " to the Security of the Kingdom."

After reading this Report in Presence of the whole Body of the Nobility, it was resolved without Opposition, to give to the Duke the Title of *Royal Highness* aforesaid. This Assembly afterwards appointed a Deputation to signify this Resolution to the other three Bodies of States, who consented to it immediately, except the Body of Peasants, who answered that they would consider of it; but soon after gave their Consent, in like Manner with the other three States.

The Emperor of *Russia* was very much pleased with the Success of this Negotiation, in regard to the Duke of *Holstein*, whom he intended for one of the Imperial Princesses. And as *Sweden* had now recognized his own Title of EMPEROR, as well as *Prussia*, he thought it could no longer be refused by the King of *Denmark*, for which Reason he sent an Order to his Minister at *Copenhagen*, to renew his Instances on the three following Articles.

I. That the King of *Denmark* should acknowledge him as Emperor.

II. That the *Russian* Vessels should pass the *Sound* without paying any Duty.

III. That his *Danish* Majesty should re-establish the Duke of *Holstein* in the Possession of all his Dominions, and restore to him the Fortress of *Tonningen* in the Condition it actually was.

These Demands were supported by Orders given to the Admirals to forward the Equipment of the *Russian* Fleet, as well at *Cronstot* as at *Revel*; insomuch that the *Danes* again expected to be attacked. They armed, and put themselves to great Expences afresh, especially as it was reported that the Czar would command his Fleet in Person. Accordingly he went by *Cronstot* to *Revel*, and embarked on Board his Fleet; which being provided with all Things necessary, set sail in Presence of the whole Court and all the Foreign Ministers. It consisted of twenty Men of War, besides Gallies: But his Imperial Majesty deceived the Expectation of all the Speculatists, and contented himself with exercising his Navy, as he had done the Year before, remaining but a few Days at Sea, without going out of the Gulph of *Finland*, and then returned, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of *August*, to *Petersburgh*.

Very soon after his Return, all the Grandees, the Foreign Ministers, and in short, all Persons of Distinction were invited by his Majesty to come to *Petershoff*, his House of Pleasure, in order to celebrate a Feast of an extraordinary Kind. *Petershoff* lies on the South Coast between *Cronstot* and *Petersburgh*, and next to *Orangensbaum*, the House of the late Prince *Menzikoff*, is one of the best Buildings in *Russia*.

It has been before observed, in the first Volume of this History, *Page* 54, that when the Emperor *PETER* began, in his Youth, to take a Fancy to Strangers and their Customs, he shewed particularly an extraordinary Inclination to every Thing concerning Navigation, the Elements of which he learned in diverting himself with

sailing



sailing on the *Perislausky* Lake with some of his Favourites. At that Time it was hardly known what a Man of War was at *Moscow*, or in any Part of *Russia*, except at *Archangel*, where the *English* and *Dutch* had some Ships; but, for the Diversion of the young Czar, a little Vessel was built, which had, in Miniature, the Form of all the Parts and Rigging of a Man of War. It was this little Vessel that first inspired him with the Notion of establishing a Ship-Yard at *Veronis*, and was the Beginning of that formidable Navy which first shewed itself in the *Black-Sea* at the Siege of *Azoph*; and which afterwards transported into the Gulph of *Finland*, after the Conquest of *Narva* and *Revel*, produced a Fleet in *Russia*, able to put out to Sea with sixty Ships of the Line of Battle, without reckoning Frigates, Gallies, and Galeasses. Their Gallies are without Number, of which six or eight hundred can be brought together on any Occasion.

In the last Voyage his Imperial Majesty made from *Petersburgh* to *Moscow*, he caused a Frigate of his own Building to be brought to this last City, to shew his People; and that, by comparing that with their Barks, and the little Skiff he first built, which was still preserved, they might have a perfect Notion of the great Improvements he had made in his Navy. After the *Persian* Expedition, when his Imperial Majesty returned to *Petersburgh*, he caused this little Skiff to be transported thither, with a Resolution of preserving it, as a Monument, to Posterity, that might shew in what Condition he found his Marine, and to what Perfection he had brought it. His Majesty took this Occasion to give an Entertainment to his Court, which was called, *The Consecration of the LITTLE GRANDSIRE*; for that was the Name he gave to the Skiff.

He conducted the *Little Grandfire*, as it were, in Triumph to *Cronslot*, which may be looked upon as the Centre of the *Russian* Admiralty. His Imperial Majesty invited all the Foreign Ministers to this Solemnity, by sending them Notice, that they would find Yachts at their Disposol in the little Fleet that was brought together for that Purpose. On the 17<sup>th</sup> of *August*, he set

sail

fail to *Petersburgh*, to convoy the *Little Grandfire* to *Cronslot*, whither it was transported on a Galliot. The Vessels were all obliged to drop Anchor at the Mouth of the River *Neva*, and wait there all Night on account of the contrary Wind ; but the next Morning his Imperial Majesty arrived before *Cronslot*, where, being accompanied by the principal Officers of his Navy, he went on Board the Galliot on which was the *Little Grandfire* ; and after having remained there some Time, he ordered the Galliot to cast Anchor, and the other Vessels of the Flotilla to be ranged in the Port of the Merchant-Men.

On the twenty-third the Emperor ordered, that the Fleet, consisting of twenty-seven Men of War, should be disposed in Form of an Amphitheatre ; after which his Imperial Majesty went into the little Skiff, named the *Little Grandfire*, being accompanied by the Great Admiral *Apraxin*, who performed the Office of Quarter-Master, and by Admiral *Cruys*, and the Vice-Admirals *Syvers*, *Gordon*, and *Menzikoff*, who served for Rowers ; after which the Skiff being towed by two Shallops, and moving for some Time on the Sea, returned to the View of the Fleet, being saluted by a general Discharge of three thousand Guns, and in passing in Review by the Ships of the Fleet, every one struck his Colours, and saluted it one after another ; to which this little Bark answered each Time, by a Discharge of three small Guns on Board. The Emperor afterwards landing, went into a Gallery adorned with Pavillions, when he was again saluted by a general Discharge of three thousand Guns.

The Empress saw this fine Show from the Port, where she was under a Tent with the Ladies of her Court. In the Afternoon she came also, with the Emperor, to see the *Little Grandfire*, which was brought into the Harbour of the Men of War. Upon which there was a great Feast that lasted till the next Day.

On the twenty-fourth their Imperial Majesties went by Water to *Petershoff*, convoyed by all the Flotilla, to the Number of a hundred and eight Vessels. The Foreign Ministers, who sailed from *Petersburgh* the same Day,

Day, arrived there at Night, and the next Day the Emperor was so condescending, as to offer himself to shew them *Petershoff*, and all its Dependencies. From the Foot of the Ascent on which the House stands, is a long Canal cut very deep into the Sea, so that large Vessels can come up it : His Majesty went half Way the Length of this Canal to meet the Foreign Ministers, and conducted them into the House, which is furnished after the *Dutch* Way, and adorned with Pictures. In one of the Apartments they saw a *Chinese* Folding Skreen, with double Leaves, adorned with abundance of Figures, a most curious Piece of Workmanship ; and in one of the Pavillions of the Galleries, a Chime of Glass-Bells, which the Organist of St. *Peter's* Tower caused to play a considerable Time. His Majesty then carried them along by the Basen and Cascades to *Mont-plaisir*, which is a House by the Sea-side, on the Right of *Petershoff*, where he generally lodged ; and from thence to *Marli* on the Left, where there are Water-Spouts, each of a Foot in Diameter, which throw the Water up near forty Foot ; and the House was encompassed with Basens and Fish-Ponds, forming a most elegant and delightful Prospect. Here his Imperial Majesty took Leave of the Foreign Ministers for the present, telling them, they were welcome to make a fuller Observation of those Curiosities, of which he had but given them a transient View ; which when they had done, they went, by the Emperor's Invitation, to dine at the Duke of *Holslein's* Table, where were present the two Princes of *Hesse-Homburg*.

On the 26<sup>th</sup>, being the *Assumption* of the *Virgin-Mary*, their Imperial Majesties gave a splendid Feast to the Nobility of the Court ; there being two Tables, of seventy two Covers each ; at one of which sat the Czar and his Lords, and at the other the Czarina and her Ladies. In the Evening his Majesty carried the foreign Ministers, in Coaches, to see the great *Reservoir* which supplied his Water-Works, and lies about two Wersts from *Petershoff*, where was a curious Water-Mill, built by a *Dutchman*, who was a very expert Mechanick. After they had seen the *Reservoir*, his Majesty retired.

them to see the Canal, from whence it was supplied, and told them it was one and twenty Wersts in Length, that it was dug in two Months Time, and derived its Waters from the Conjunction of three little Brooks; but that the compleating this Work so soon, was owing to the natural Descent of the Ground. They all returned again to the Mill and Reservoir, from whence his Majesty carried them to *Petershoff* upon the Canal.

On the 27<sup>th</sup> the *Little Grandfire* was conveyed thither; but the Wind blowing pretty hard, the Flotilla could not keep together, so that the foreign Ministers did not return to *Petersburgh* till the 28<sup>th</sup>, when the *Little Grandfire* was likewise conveyed thither.

On the 10<sup>th</sup> of the next Month, being the Day of the Anniversary of the Peace with *Sweden*, was held a grand Masquerade, in Vessels surrounding the Galliot that carried the *Little Grandfire*, which was put to Sea with all its Ornaments, and his Majesty embarking thereon, conducted it himself, under the Discharge of all the Artillery, to the Place where it was to be laid up for Posterity.

In the Beginning of the Month of *September*, *Ismael Beck*, Ambassador Plenipotentiary from the *Schah* or King of *Persia*, arrived at *Petersburgh*. Upon Advice that he was come to *Sleutelbourg*, from the Monastery of *Alexander Newski*, his Imperial Majesty sent Messieurs *Protassieff* and *Deviciack* to compliment him in his Name; the same Day he also sent a fine Yacht for the Ambassador, with three other Vessels for his Retinue, and four Sloops to bring their Baggage.

The next Day the Ambassador, with the Gentlemen aforesaid, went aboard the Yacht, being saluted by the Discharge of eleven Pieces of Cannon; the commanding Officer and Soldiers attending under Arms, and the Drums beating; the Ambassador going down the River *Neva*, sailed through the whole Flotilla, which was ranged in Order before *Petersburgh*. As he passed by the Foundry he was again saluted by one and twenty Pieces of Cannon, and when arrived before the Palace of Ambassadors, the thirteen Guns on board the Yacht were fired also. Afterwards he went on board a Sloop

with

with *M. Protassieff* and *M. Deviciack* above-named, an Interpreter, and three other Persons of his Retinue, while four of the *Sophi's* Officers went on board another Sloop.

When the Ambassador came to the Bridge, hard by the Palace of Ambassadors, he landed there, and made his Entry in the following Order.

I. Three of the *Sophi's* Officers, with Staves in their Hands.

II. The Ambassador, accompanied by the Messieurs above-mentioned.

III. One of the Ambassador's Domesticks, who carried his Sabre in a Wrapper of Woollen Cloth.

IV. The Ambassador's Retinue.

Before the Palace of Ambassadors were thirty six Soldiers under Arms, and the Drum beating.

On the 5<sup>th</sup> of the Month the Ambassador had his publick Audience, being conducted in the Manner following :

*M. Protassieff* went to take him up in the *Czar's* own Barge, followed by fifteen others for his Retinue. The Ambassador went on board, together with his Interpreter, and the Secretary of the Embassy ; the latter carrying in both his Hands the *Sophi's* Letter, which was put in a Case of *Persian* Cloth of Silver. The Officers and the rest of the Retinue were in the other Sloops.

When the Ambassador came into the Yard of the Senate-House, before the Hall of Audience, he found two Battalions drawn up in a Line, and under Arms. He was received at the Foot of the Stair-Case of the Senate-House by *M. Daschkoff*, Director-General of the Posts ; at the Entrance of the Porch by Brigadier *Leontief*, and at the Door of the Hall of Audience by *M. Ushukoff*, a Major-General and Major of the Life-Guards.

Before the Ambassador entered the Hall, he gave his Hanger and Slippers to his Domesticks, who also left their Sabres, Hanger, and Slippers without the Hall.



The Ambassador having taken the Letter from his Master the *Sophi*, out of the Hands of his Secretary, entered the Hall, when he made his first Obedience, and advancing near the Throne he repeated the same Thrice, and made the following Speech :

MOST GRACIOUS LORD,

“ **A**S the Sun gives Light to the whole Earth, and  
 “ as the Brightness and Influences of the Stars  
 “ produce and preserve the Lives of all Creatures, so  
 “ all the Inhabitants of the World are made Partakers  
 “ of your Majesty's Grace and Favour. The Happi-  
 “ ness which God has granted your Majesty, is such as  
 “ will not suffer any Person to attack you. Your Ma-  
 “ jesty's Throne surpasses all others in Splendor, as  
 “ much as the brightest Star is superior to the rest by  
 “ its Lustre. The Almighty has established your Ma-  
 “ jesty's Right and Crown, as he extended the Domi-  
 “ nions of King *Pheridumi*, heaped his Favours on King  
 “ *Dicemfched*, and gave Glory to King *Kiavanum*.  
 “ God be with you, the Valiant, Invincible, and  
 “ Greatest of the Emperors of this Age ! By the Fa-  
 “ vour of God, comparable to the Philosopher's Stone,  
 “ and by God's Success known to the whole World,  
 “ my most gracious Lord, a true Believer, is attained  
 “ to the Throne, and now holds the Reins of Govern-  
 “ ment. His Majesty has sent me hither to renew and  
 “ confirm the perpetual Amity in his Name, earnestly  
 “ wishing, that the sincere Friendship which reigns at  
 “ present, may be preserved and increased on both  
 “ Sides.”

The Ambassador afterwards presented to the Emperor the Letter of the *Sophi* his Master, which his Imperial Majesty gave into the Hands of Count *Goloskin*, his Chancellor, who laid it on the Table, and spoke to the Ambassador to approach nearer to the Throne. The Ambassador coming forward on his Knees, kissed the Border of the Emperor's Robe, who presenting his Hand to him to kiss, asked him after the Health of the *Sophi*. To which he answered only by shedding Tears, believing

believing that the old *Schah* was dead, he having been confirmed in his Commission, on the Road, by the young *Schah Tabmas* or *Tabmasch*. The Chancellor told him, that the Minister of his Imperial Majesty would return him an Answer to the Letter he had presented, and that he should be regaled at the Emperor's Table. Upon which the Ambassador retired backwards till he came to the Entrance of the Hall, where the Officers and the rest of his Train had remained during the Time of the Audience. He was reconducted to his Barge with the same Ceremonies that were observed in bringing him to his Audience; and he was afterwards most magnificently entertained at his Imperial Majesty's Table, the Honours of which were done by Count *Apraxin*.

Some few Days after, and when the Court was in the midst of the Diversions of the grand Masquerade, to which this Ambassador was invited with Marks of Distinction, the Emperor received the agreeable News of the Surrender of *Baku*, one of the most important Places on the Coasts of the *Caspian* Sea, for its Situation, its Strength, and its Commerce. Major-General *Matouschkin* having set sail from *Astracan* with nineteen Ships, on board which he had embarked with three thousand Men, arrived on the 28<sup>th</sup> of *July* before the City, and, after having weighed Anchor, dispatched Major *Netschef* with the following Letter to the Commandant or Governor.

THOUGH the Inhabitants of *Baku*, after having promised Submission to his Imperial Majesty according to his Manifesto's, did afterwards shew their Backwardness to accept of his Majesty's high Protection, and of the Troops which he offered for their Defence; yet his Majesty, in Consideration of the antient and constant Amity between him and the *Sopbi* of *Persia*, and in Compassion to the Inhabitants of *Baku*, has been pleased to send Major-General *Matouschkin*, not only with Troops and Ammunition for their Defence, but also with Provisions for their Subsistence; therefore, if they would

“ be looked upon as faithful Vassals to their Lord and  
 “ Master, and as true Patriots, they ought no longer to  
 “ oppose such a special Favour ; but on the contrary,  
 “ to repair their Mistake, by a ready Submission to his  
 “ Imperial Majesty.”

At the same Time, Major-General *Matouschkin* sent the Commandant a Letter, which *Ismael Beck*, the Persian Ambassador, left at *Astracan*, when he passed that Way for *Petersburgh*, wherein he exhorts the Inhabitants of *Baku* to put themselves under the Czar's Protection. But the Governor sent a verbal Answer to the Major-General, that he could not admit any *Russian* Troops into the Place, without an expresse Order from the *Sophi*, and sent Deputies to the Major-General to acquaint him with the same ; whereupon the latter made Answer, that if they persisted to refuse Entrance to his Men, he should be obliged to treat them as Enemies, and at the same Time sent an Interpreter into the Town to bring back the final Resolution. The same Deputies confirmed to him, that they were not disposed to admit any Troops or Ammunition : Upon this, the Major-General caused two Galliot to advance, in order to bombard and cannonade the Place ; but the Inhabitants, to the Number of one thousand Men, well armed, defended themselves with a great deal of Courage to the 7<sup>th</sup> of *August*, on which Day the Major-General summoned the Governor to surrender in the Space of four Hours. He desired four Days Time to consider, but could not obtain his Request ; and therefore signified the next Night that he was ready to capitulate. On the 8<sup>th</sup>, at five o'Clock in the Morning, he sent Seven of the chief Men of the City to declare to the Major-General, that he might enter the Town with his Men, and that had it not been for a malecontent Faction he would have surrendered sooner ; for which Reason they humbly intreated his Imperial Majesty to forgive them. The Major-General having promised them Pardon, entered the City on the 8<sup>th</sup> of *August*, in the Afternoon, with all the Marks of Honour, and the Acciamations of the Inhabitants, who met him out of Town, and received

ceived him with the greatest Expressions of Joy. Twenty Pieces of Cannon were found in the Town, with a large Quantity of Ammunition.

Great Rejoicings were made at *Petersburgh* on this Occasion ; the Place being looked upon of very great Importance, not only in itself, but as it would secure the rest of the *Russian* Conquests on the *Caspian* Sea ; and for that Reason, they built large Magazines there, and stored them with all Manner of Provisions and Ammunition.

The *Persian* Ambassador did not remain Inactive, but knowing all that his Master had to fear from the *Turk* and *Myrr-Maghmod*, had frequent Conferences with the Ministers of his Imperial Majesty, to solicit a quick and powerful Succour. He was a Man of Spirit, and was not ignorant of the Interests of both Empires, but thought very justly, that he should never be able to obtain the Alliance he demanded, and the Succours which his Master's Affairs had so much need off, without proposing very advantageous Conditions to the *Russians* ; wherefore he offered such Terms, that the Treaty was soon concluded. It consisted of five Articles, with the Preamble, as follow.

IN THE NAME OF ALMIGHTY GOD ! to all to whom  
these Presents shall come.

WHEREAS for several Years past the Troubles and Commotions risen in the Kingdom of *Persia*, have been carried to such a Height, that many Subjects of that Country had the Boldness, not only to raise a Rebellion against their lawful Sovereign, to the Ruin of that Kingdom, but also to treat barbarously and kill his *Russian* Majesty's Subjects, and after having robbed them of their Effects, amounting to vast Sums, which they carried in and through the said Country, relying on the antient Treaties, and the Amity subsisting between the two Crowns : And whereas the *Sophi* then reigning was not in a Condition, by reason of the Distractions his Dominions were in, to make due Satisfaction for the Insolencies committed against the *Russian* Traders :

Traders : His Czarish Majesty, partly out of Friendship and Affection towards the King of *Persia*, and partly to prevent that Evil from producing the utter Ruin of that Kingdom, and even reaching his own Frontiers, has been induced to bend his Arms against those Rebels, and to retake from them several Places upon the *Caspian* Sea, which by Force and Violence they were possessed of, and to garrison them with his own Forces ; which enraged them to such a Degree, that they not only made themselves Masters of the Capital City of *Ispahan*, but even dethroned the King, and made him Prisoner with his whole Family, except the young Prince *Tachmasch*, who escaped their Fury, and as true and lawful Heir of the Crown and Country of the King his Father, is willing to renew and corroborate with the strongest Ties, the former Friendship which subsisted so long between the two Monarchs ; and to send hither with a Letter, his faithful and truest Minister *Ismael Beck*, with the Character of Ambassador, in order, not only to notify to us his lawful Succession to the Throne, but also to implore our Assistance against the unaccountable Violence done to him by his rebellious Subjects. To which Purpose, the said Minister has full Power, under his Master's Great Seal, to conclude a solemn Treaty with us against the Rebels. Whereupon, on the Part, and by special Order of his Czarish Majesty, his Ministers here under-written did enter into a Treaty with the *Persian* Minister, and agreed upon the following Articles.

I. His *Russian* Imperial Majesty hereby promises to his *Persian* Majesty King *Tachmasch*, his sincere Friendship and Assistance against the Rebels ; and that his *Persian* Majesty may be entirely re-established in his Dominions, his Czarish Majesty engages himself to send, as soon as possible, a considerable Body of Foot and Horse to *Persia*, to act against the Rebels

II. On the other Hand, the King of *Persia* yields forever to his Imperial and Czarish Majesty, and the *Russian* Empire, the Cities of *Derbent* and *Baku*, with all the Countries bordering on the *Caspian* Sea ; as also the Provinces of *Ghilan*, *Mazanderan*, and *Astarabat*, all which



which are resigned to his Imperial Majesty for ever, to the end they may afford Subsistence to his Forces, without Incumbrance to his *Persian* Majesty.

III. But in as much as it is impracticable to transport by Sea, into such remote Countries, all the Horses requisite for the Cavalry, Artillery, Baggage, Ammunition, and Provisions; and the *Persian* Plenipotentiary having assured that more than a sufficient Number of Horses will be found in the Countries and Places before-mentioned; his Czarish Majesty will therefore give Orders to his Generals, to get as many Horses as shall be necessary, with Proviso, that in Case a sufficient Number cannot be found, his *Persian* Majesty shall be bound to furnish his Czarish Majesty with as many as he shall want, at the Rate of twelve Roubles a Head; to find moreover Camels *gratis*, for the Carriage of the Baggage; to provide for the Subsistence of the Army, and to take particular Care that the Forces, on their Marches, may be sufficiently supplied with Bread, Flesh, and Salt, on Condition that Ready Money be paid for the same: But in Case the Price of those Provisions should rise, during the March of these Forces, the King of *Persia* will make good, out of his own Treasury, the Surplus; and will immediately on the Return of his Minister, make all necessary Preparations for subsisting the *Russian* Army.

IV. A perpetual Friendship and good Understanding between the two Potentates and Dominions are herewith established; by Virtue of which, the Subjects on both Sides may freely, and without being molested, pass and repass into each Dominion, settle and trade there as they shall think fit: And if in time to come they should have a mind to remove, they shall be at Liberty so to do without Impediment; and both their Majesties will severely punish the Transgressors of this Article.

V. His Czarish Imperial Majesty promises to take for his own Enemies, all those that are Enemies to the *Persian* Empire, and to act against them for the Good and Interest of the said Empire; and that he will look upon those that are at Amity with *Persia* as his own Friends; which the King of *Persia*, on his Part, solemnly

lemnly promises to observe likewise, with respect to his Czarish Majesty's Enemies and Friends.

In Confirmation of which, and that all that has been above stipulated shall be inviolably kept and observed ; I *Ismael Beck*, Plenipotentiary of the most illustrious King of *Persia*, have signed this Treaty with my own Hand, in the Name and on the Part of the King my Master, by Virtue of the full Power given to me, under his Great Seal, and subscribed with his Sign Manual, (which I have confirmed upon Oath) and afterwards exchanged against a like Instrument, sealed with his Czarish Majesty's Great Seal, and signed by his Ministers appointed for that Purpose. Done at *Petersburgh* the 12<sup>th</sup> of September, O. S. 1723.

*Signed on the Part of his Czarish Majesty, by Count GABRIEL VON GOLOFSKIN, Great Chancellor of the Russian Empire,*

*Earon ANDREW VON OSTERMAN, Privy Counsellor,*

*BASILIUS VON STEPHANOF, Privy-Counsellor of the Chancery.*

*On the Part of the King of Persia, by ISMAEL BECK, Ambassador and Plenipotentiary.*

The *Persian* Ambassador would have departed as soon as this important Affair was concluded ; but the Emperor assured him, it would give him much Pleasure if he would repose himself for some Time, and take part in the Diversions of the Season ; wherein he behaved as a polite Gentleman, and shewed himself to be of an agreeable Humour. The Czar ordered his Navy, his Arsenals, Magazines, and Country Houses to be shewn him ; but he continued in *Russia* no longer than till the End of the Month. On the 25<sup>th</sup> he had his Audience of Leave, with the same Ceremonies as were observed at his Entry. As soon as he approached the Throne, his Imperial Majesty gave the Chancellor the Letter, which he had wrote in Answer to that of the *Schah*, and the Chancellor delivered it to the Ambassador, charging him, at the same Time, on the Part of his Czarish Majesty, that

that he would assure the *Schah*, his Master, of the entire Friendship of his Majesty, and his firm Resolution of religiously maintaining the Treaty concluded between the two Empires. The Ambassador having put the Letter on his Head, made the following Speech ; and after being permitted to kiss the Emperor's Hand, crawling on his Knees, he withdrew very well satisfied with all the Honours he had received.

GREATEST OF EMPERORS !

" I 'HOU, who art blessed with the Mercy of  
 " God, and the Protection of Angels ! Thou,  
 " who surpassest *Darius* and *Alexander the Great* in  
 " Glory, *Nucharavanus* and *Pheridumi* in Clemency,  
 " and *Kiawanum* in Courage ! Thou art the true fortunate Star *Merick* ; (by which he is supposed to have meant *Jupiter*) " in Regard it has pleased the AL-  
 " MIGHTY GOD to advance thy Imperial Majesty's  
 " high Person to the Summit of supreme Monarchy.

" Thanks and Praise be to God, that through his  
 " Mercy, my most gracious and true-believing Lord  
 " has done me the Honour to send me with the Character of Plenipotentiary ; and that it fell to my Lot  
 " to renew, and bring to good Issue, the Friendship and  
 " entire Confidence of two such Monarchs. I am sure  
 " our Enemies, who have been so outrageous, will be  
 " put into the utmost Confusion by this Alliance ; and  
 " our Subjects, on the contrary, who have hitherto  
 " groaned under the cruellest Oppression, will not only  
 " keep a solemn Festival ; but will every one congratulate the other upon the Confirmation of this perpetual  
 " Friendship.

*Most gracious Emperor,*

" May the most high God multiply thy Years upon  
 " thee, and advance thy Imperial Majesty's Rights !  
 " That the Friends of the two Monarchies may grow  
 " strong and triumphant, and their Enemies may consume away, and become altogether helpless !

The *Porte* was very soon informed of the Contents, as well as the Conclusion of this Treaty, with which she appeared not at all satisfied; from whence it was supposed, that that Court had Views of taking Advantage of the Divisions that were in *Persia*, by which it might make a more easy Conquest in that Country. The *Turk* was very little pleased to see the Emperor of *Russia* enter into Engagements that would oblige him to oppose his Designs, and thought it an oblique Declaration of War with him, to unite with the *Schah Tachmasch*. Capt. *Nieplief*, the *Russian* Minister at *Constantinople*, and the Marquis *de Bonac*, the *French* Ambassador, immediately gave notice to the Emperor of the Dispositions that appeared in the *Divan* to declare War against the *Russians*: Upon which his Imperial Majesty communicated in Form to the *Porte*, the Treaty he had made with the young *Schah*, inviting his Highness to accede to the same; declaring that he would religiously observe his Treaties with the *Sublime Porte*; and that he had no other View than to assist a Prince insulted and persecuted by a rebellious Subject. This Declaration, to which the pacifick *Vizier* gave a good Turn, appeased the Grand Signior, who was willing to lend an Ear to the Propositions of Monsieur *de Bonac*. This Minister, after having renewed the Assurances of his Imperial Majesty's Desire to continue in Peace with his Highness, drew so hideous a Picture of *Myrr-Maghmod*, and his Designs, that it was not difficult to bring the Grand Signior to approve of the Compassion which the *Russian* Emperor had shewn to the true King of *Persia*. Nevertheless many Incidents happened, which very much thwarted the Success that was expected from these Instances. Under Pretence of opposing the excessive Power of the *Russians*, the *Tartars*, as well as the *Turks*, armed all their Forces, and there were great Reasons to dread fresh Hostilities, especially from the *Tartars*; for the *Russians* had Orders to avoid coming to a Rupture with them: But at Length Messieurs *de Bonac* and *Nieplief*, knowing how to make the best Use of the Grand *Vizier's* Disposition, and of every other Circumstance; brought the *Divan* to consent to appoint Commissaries

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to treat of a Convention between the two Empires, with regard to the Affairs of *Persia*, and the following Articles were agreed to.

I. **T**O the End the Grand Signior may come off with Honour, with respect to his Enterprizes in *Persia*, the *Sophi* shall be obliged to send a solemn Embassy, to desire the *Sultan* to set Bounds to his Conquests, and to consent that the Emperor of *Russia* may execute the Treaty which he has of late concluded with him, excepting such Articles as might be contrary to the Glory and the Interests of the *Porte*; which, in Case there be such, shall be either declared void, or rectified.

II. The Emperor of *Russia* shall be allowed to keep whatever lies between the Mountains of *Caucasus* and the Coasts of the *Caspian Sea*, together with *Derbent*, *Baku*, *Ghilan*, *Mascan*, *Ran*, and *Ferabat*, as far as the River *Ofsa* or *Ottus*, the Boundaries of the Kingdom of the *Usbecks*.

III. He shall content himself with the Meridional Coasts from *Ghilan* to the River *Ofsa*.

IV. A reasonable District will be allowed to the City *Derbent* between the two Seas.

V. The Limits between the two Empires shall be fixed between *Samachi* and *Baku*.

VI. Besides the Conquests the *Porte* has made, the *Ottoman Empire* shall have the Provinces of *Eriwan*, *Tauris*, and *Casbin*, as far as its antient Limits of *Wan* and *Argura*.

VII. As to the other Countries which the *Porte* lays claim to, Endeavours will be used to satisfy the Grand Signior, when a solemn Treaty shall be made, especially if he favours the Emperor of *Russia* in the Article of Trade.

This Treaty, and the other before-mentioned, not only confirmed his new Conquests to the *Russian Emperor*, but gave him the Prospect of having two large and rich Provinces on the Coasts of the *Caspian Sea*, as soon as the Repole of *Persia* was settled. There was one  
Way



Way of putting a speedy End to the Troubles in that Country, which was to unite the *Ottoman* and *Russian* Forces to drive away *Myrr-Magbmud*; but it was no easy Matter to engage the *Turks* to join with *Christians*, to shed the Blood of *Mussulmans*, or cure the Jealousy they had of the *Russians* growing too powerful on the Frontiers of *Asia*. However, his Imperial Majesty now saw himself without any Enemies; and free from the Danger of having any soon, since the Project of the *Porte* against *Persia* were like to give her sufficient Employment for a Time: But the General, or *Hettman* of the *Cossacks* being dead. it occasioned some Disturbance in the Country lying between the *Borysbenes* and the *Don*. These troublesome People sent some of their Colonels to *Petersburgh*, to demand in a rough Manner, a new *Hettman*, and the Re-establishment of many Privileges which they pretended they had been deprived of; but his Imperial Majesty soon quieted them, by giving them Prince *Galliczin* for their Chief, whose Valour and Fidelity he knew he might depend on.

*End of the Fourth Book.*



BOOK



# BOOK V.

## The CONTENTS.

*The Czar being determined to crown the Empress Catharine, publishes a Proclamation on that Occasion. Erects an Academy of Sciences, and the Belles-Lettres. The Ceremonies of the Empress's Coronation. The Emperor falls sick at Petersburg; causes the Oath to be renewed that was taken in Favour of the Empress. Makes some new Regulations, particularly in the Method of administering Justice. Dies. His Epitaph.*

**H**IS Imperial Majesty having established Peace on every Side of his wide-extended Empire, began to think of putting the Design in Execution, which he had long formed, of causing his beloved Consort, the Empress *Catharine*, to be solemnly crowned in his antient City of *Moscow*; preparatory to which he published the following Proclamation:

**W**E PETER the First, Emperor and Autocrat of *Muscovy*, &c. be it known to all the Clergy, Civil and Military Officers, and all others of the *Russian* Nation, our good Subjects.

No body is ignorant of the established Custom which has been observed constantly and perpetually in *Christendom*, for the Princes to crown their Princesses, as is now actually, and has for several Ages past been, the Practice of the Emperors of the true *Greek* Religion, viz The Emperor *Basilicus*, who caused the Crown to be set on the Head of his Wife *Zenobia*; the Emperor *Justinian*,  
who

who did the same for his Spouse *Lupicina* ; the Emperor *Heraclius* for *Martinea* ; the Emperor *Leo* the Philosopher, for his Wife *Mary* ; besides many others, who have in like Manner caused the Imperial Crown to be placed on the Heads of their Consorts, whom it would be too tedious to mention here.

'Tis also well known how much we have exposed our own Person, and faced the most apparent Dangers, for the Sake of our Country, during the late War, for twenty-one Years together ; which, by the Help of God, we have concluded in a Manner so honourable and advantageous, that *Russia* never obtained such a Peace, nor acquired so much Glory as was gained by this War : The Empress *Catharine*, our dearest Spouse, was a great Help to us in all these Dangers, not only in the said War, but in other Expeditions, in which she accompanied us voluntarily, and served us with her Counsel, as much as was possible, notwithstanding the Weakness of her Sex ; particularly at the Battle of *Pruth*, where our Army was reduced to twenty-two thousand Men, while the *Turks* were two hundred and twenty thousand strong. It was in this desperate Circumstance, above all others, that she signalized her Zeal, by a Courage superior to her Sex, as is known to the whole Army throughout the whole Empire. For these Causes, and by Virtue of that Power which God has given us, we are resolved to honour our Spouse with the Imperial Crown, in Acknowledgment for all her Fatigues, which, God willing, shall be performed this Winter at *Moscow* ; and we hereby give notice of it to all our loving Subjects, to whom our Imperial Affection is unalterable, &c."

Most magnificent Preparations were made for this grand Ceremony, and his Majesty having invited the foreign Ministers to Court on that Account, entered the Room where they were, accompanied by Count *Golofskin*, his Great-Chancellor, and Messieurs *Telssoi* and *Osterman* Counsellors of State ; where, taking his Place in an armed Chair, he spoke to them to the following Effect in the *Dutch* Language :

" You

" You know, Gentlemen, that I had resolv'd for  
 " some Time to take a Journey to *Moscow*, with the  
 " Empress my Spouse, which has been prevented by  
 " Illness; but it having pleas'd God to restore my  
 " Health, I am now in a Condition to undertake it, and  
 " am willing, before my Departure, to desire you,  
 " Gentlemen, on my Part, to assure your august Masters  
 " of my very sincere Friendship, and that I will lose no  
 " Opportunity of cultivating the same with them. If  
 " any one among you has any Commission to execute,  
 " he may apply to my Chancellor. I do not doubt  
 " but you have received Orders to follow me to *Mos-*  
 " *cow*; all necessary Preparations are made for your  
 " own Conveyance thither, and that of your Domesticks."

But this Journey was again deferred for some Time, on Account of the Affairs of *Turky*, where Things still seem'd unsettled, notwithstanding the last Treaty, and warlike Preparations were still making on the Sides of the *Don* and the *Pruth*. However, the *Russian* Emperor never ceasing a Moment from the glorious Labour of improving the Minds and Manners of his People, and making Establishments for the future Happiness and Glory of his Country, drew up the following Plan of an Academy of Sciences and the *Belles-Lettres*, which he took from the Accounts he had received of Institutions of the like Kind in *England*, *France*, and other Places. It consist'd of eleven Articles.

I. **T**HE Academy is to be compos'd of twelve Members, one Secretary, and one Library-Keeper, four Interpreters, and twelve Pupils.

II. The Sciences to be taught in this Academy are divided into three Classes; in the first the Students will be instructed in all the Parts of Mathematicks; in the second they shall study Physick, and in the third all Sorts of polite Learning.

III. Every one is to dive into those Sciences, and to improve that in particular which he has made his peculiar Study. All the Members are to examine the Discoveries that shall be propos'd to them, either by Order  
 of

of the Emperor, or by any other Man of Learning ; and they are to declare sincerely, whether they are new, useful, and really such for what they are given out. They are to make Extracts out of the Books printed in *Russia* and Abroad, which they shall think proper for the Improvement of Sciences and Literature, which they are to put into the Hands of the Secretary, with their Remarks upon every Subject.

IV. And to the End that every one may reap the Benefit of other Mens Learning and Remarks, all the Members are to meet once a Week in private, and three Times a Year in publick.

V. Whereas by this Foundation the Emperor has not only in View to favour the Academy of Sciences, but also to make it useful to the whole Nation ; his Majesty's Pleasure is, That each Member of this Academy shall write a System of the Science he professes, and have a publick Lecture once a Day ; they may also have private Lectures, and make their Advantage that way.

VI. To fill up the Places that will become vacant, every Member is to have under Direction a Pupil who is already advanced in Learning, and who shall have a Pension allowed him for his Maintenance ; and if he makes considerable Progresses in the Science he has applied himself to, he is to succeed his Tutor.

VII. In Return of such a Favour, the Pupils shall be obliged to teach the Beginners the first Elements, and to instruct them so far, as they may in Time be capable of improving themselves by the Lectures of the Members of the Academy.

VIII. That Body shall be immediately under the Emperor, who has taken it under his Protection ; and all those that are of that Body, shall not be liable to appear (without the President's Consent) before any other Court of Justice but their own.

IX. The Library, the Chamber of Engines, the Cabinet of Anatomy, and that of Medals, shall be for their Use ; and the Money requisite for making Experiments, either in Publick or in Private, will be furnished them.

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PETER I. Czar of Muscovy. 283

X. Each Member shall have a Year's Salary beforehand, to be paid out of the Fund of the Academy. They shall have free Lodgings, and sufficient Fuel; and those that come from Abroad, shall have their travelling Charges defrayed.

XI. They shall not be empowered to make any Laws but with the Consent of the whole Academy.

*Petersburgh, Feb.*  
the 1<sup>st</sup>, 1724.

Signed PETER.

Before his Imperial Majesty's Departure from *Petersburgh*, he received the agreeable News from *Stockholm*, of his Minister's being likely to conclude, in a short Time, a Treaty of Alliance with that Court, that would confirm that of *Niestadt*, and was to clear up some Difficulties in the former; to settle Limits, and whatever concerned Commerce; and to guarantee the Titles and Rights of the Duke of *Holstein*. This Treaty being accordingly finished, was signed by his Majesty on the 4<sup>th</sup> of *March*, the very Day he arrived at *Oloniec*, to drink the Waters of that Place before he went to *Moscow*, where he and the Empress arrived on the 1<sup>st</sup> of *April*, under a triple Discharge of all the Artillery. The Emperor found in that City a *Turkish* Aga with the Nephew of the Marquis *de Bonac* who brought with them the Instrument of the Treaty we have before spoken of. The Cham of the *Calmuck Tartars* had likewise sent an Ambassador thither, and *Myrr-Maghmud* had contrived to have some *Tartars* disguised in the same Place, who, if they had not been discovered, might have disturbed the Solemnity of the Coronation, which was performed on the 18<sup>th</sup> of *May*. Her Imperial Majesty prepared herself for it for three Days, by Fasting and Prayer; and the People had Notice given them of the Time, on the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup>, by the Secretary of the Chancery, preceded by an Officer with Drums and Trumpets.

The

The Cathedral in which the Coronation was performed, was richly adorned, as far as comports with the Rites of the *Greek Church*, which does not allow the Images of their Saints to be covered with any Ornaments. It was illuminated with a great Number of Branches in Form of Crowns, and there was a very large one in the Middle, of fine Silver, of such extraordinary Workmanship, that it might pass for one of the Curiosities of *Europe*. It was full of Wax-Candles, all gilt. The Steps of the Altar, and the Pavement of the Church to the Throne, and to the Czarina's usual Seat, were covered with rich Tapestry wrought with Gold, and the Archbishops, &c. set on Benches covered with Crimson Cloth. In the Middle of the Church was a Canopy of Crimson Velvet, adorned with the Arms of *Russia*, viz. An Eagle Sable, with an Escutcheon on its Breast of St. *George* killing the Dragon, and all round it was the Ribbon of the Order of St. *Andrew*, and on the two Sides were the Arms of *Casan*, *Asracan*, *Siberia*, &c. The Canopy was embroidered with Gold Rais'd-Work, with rich Fringes, Ribbons, Tufts, Gold Lace, &c. and at the four Corners were fine Pillars like Pyramids, covered with Red and Gold Silk. Under this Canopy was the Throne, the Steps and Pavement of which were covered with Crimson Velvet. There were two antique Elbow Chairs in it for their Imperial Majesties, which glittered with precious Stones, and a long Table covered with Cloth of Gold, which hung to the Ground. Their usual Seats in the Church were lined inside and outside with Cloth of Gold, and the Bottom was covered with red Velvet, trimmed with Gold. The Imperial Princesses, and the Duchesses of *Mecklembourg* and *Courland* and the Duke of *Holstein*, saw the Ceremony from Places made for them near the Throne, adorned with Tapestry and Cloth of Gold, with an Eagle of Gold embroidered, and sparkling with Jewels. The Generals, Gentlemen, &c. made also a fine Appearance.

At Nine o'Clock in the Morning, the Clergy met in the Church, and read the usual Prayers for the Prosperity of both their Imperial Majesties, whom afterwards

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wards they went to attend in their Pontificalibus, and joined in the Procession, which began about Ten, as follows.

- I. Half the Czar's Horse Guards, and their Officers.
- II. The Czarina's Pages, and their Governor.
- III. The Grand Master of the Ceremonies, with his Mace.

IV. The General Officers and Deputies of Provinces.

V. The two great Heralds at Arms of the Empire, in Habits of Crimson, embroidered with Gold, with the Imperial Eagle wrought upon them, and their Staves in their Hands.

VI. The Prince *Galliczin* and Count *Osterman*, Privy Counsellors, carrying upon two Cushions the Imperial Mantle, which was of Cloth of Gold, lined with Ermin; the Clasps of it adorned with a great Number of large Brilliants, and on the Mantle the Imperial Eagle was embroidered in Relievo.

VII. Prince *Dolguruki*, a Privy Counsellor, carrying upon a Cushion of Gold the Globe, which was of fine Gold, with a Cross upon the Top of it, adorned with Diamonds, Rubies, Sapphires and Emeralds, and deserves to be admired, if it were only for being the Workmanship of *Old Rome*.

VIII. Another Privy Counsellor, carrying upon a Cushion the Scepter enamell'd, and adorned with Diamonds and Rubies, with the Imperial Eagle at the End; it being the same Scepter used at the Coronation of the antient Emperors of *Russia*.

IX. General Count *Bruce*, carrying the Crown, which was covered all over with Brillants, several of which were very large, besides fine Oriental Pearls, of an extraordinary Size, and an even Water: Among other Precious Stones of various Colours, all about the Crown, there was a true Oriental Ruby, of an uncommon Lustre, and as large as a Pigeon's Egg, which is, without dispute, the richest that has yet been known. This supplied the Place of the Globe on the Top of the Crown, and the Cross was all covered with Brillants.

X. Count

X. Count *Tolstoy*, Grand Marshal, with his Staff in his Hand, on the Top of which was the Imperial Eagle of Massive Gold, and an Emerald as big as an Hen's Egg.

XI. The Czar, supported by the Princes *Menzikoff* and *Repnin*.

XII. The Czarina, led by the Duke of *Holstein*, and attended by the High Admiral Count *Apraxin*, and Count *Goloffkin* the Chancellor; her Train being born by the Princesses of *Menzikoff*, the Countesses of *Goloffkin*, the Countesses of *Bruce*, and the Princesses of *Trubetskoy*; and on each Side of these walked the Gentlemen of her Court.

XIII. The Ladies of the first Rank, with the other Court Ladies and Women of Quality.

XIV. The Colonels, Officers, and those of the National Nobility summoned to attend.

XV. The other Half of the Horse Guards closed the March; during which all the Bells of *Moscow* rang, which was accompanied with the Musick of the Drums and Trumpets.

When the Regalia came near the Gate of the Cathedral, all the Archbishops and Clergy in their Pontificalibus went out to the Steps, and two of the Bishops sprinkled the Ornaments with Incense and Holy Water. Then the Clergy marching before them into the Church, the Choir struck up that Psalm, beginning, *Lord I will sing of thy Mercy and of thy Righteousness*. Then the Duke of *Holstein* having led the Czarina to the Throne, retired to his Place, and the Czar led her to her Seat, where they were attended by the Prince of *Menzikoff* and *Repnin*, and the Counts *Apraxin* and *Goloffkin*, and by the Ladies that bore the Czarina's Train. When their Majesties were seated, the Archbishops and the other Prelates sat down likewise; but the Gentlemen and Ladies in the Galleries stood all the Time of the Ceremony. When they had sung the Anthem, the Czar stood up, and taking the Scepter from the Table, ordered the great Marshal to call the Archbishops and the other Prelates, and enjoined them to proceed to the Coronation according to

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the Ritual; upon which the Archbishops advanced towards the Czarina, and the Archbishop of *Novogrod* made this short Address to her.

ORTHODOX and great Empress, most gracious Lady, may it please your Majesty to repeat aloud the Creed (*Athanasian*) of ORTHODOX Faith in the Presence of your loyal Subjects.

The Czarina, after having repeated the *Athanasian Creed*, kneeled down upon a Cushion, and received the Archbishop's Benediction, who consecrated her with the Sign of the Cross, laid his Hands on her, and then taking off his Mitre, recited the following Prayer.

“ **O** Lord our God, thou King of Kings, thou Almighty Sovereign, on whom all Powers depend, who by the Administration of thy Prophet *Samuel*, didst heretofore chuse thy Servant *David*, and anointedst him to be King of thy People, hearken to the Prayer which we thy unworthy Servants offer up unto thee at this Time; look down from thy Holy Dwelling-place on high, and render worthy of thy sacred Unction our Orthodox and Great Empress *CATHARINE ALEXOWNA*, whom thou hast chose to be Sovereign Lady and Mistress over thy People, and whom thou hast redeemed by the precious Blood of thine only Son: Invest her with Power; crown her with a precious Diadem; grant her long Life; put the Scepter of Salvation into her Hands; place her upon the Throne of Justice; defend her with the Armour of the Holy Spirit; make her Arm strong; put all Infidel Nations under her Dominion; let her Heart be always inclined to fear thee, and her Will be always obedient to thine: Keep her in the true Faith, and make her upon all Occasions to distinguish herself as the true Protectress of the Doctrine of the Holy Catholick Church: Let her judge thy People righteously, do Justice to the Afflicted, relieve the  
“ Children



“ Children of the Poor ; and let her at last obtain thy  
“ Heavenly Kingdom.”

As soon as this Prayer was ended, the Empress stood up, and the two Archbishops took hold of the Coronation Mantle, and gave it to the Emperor, who, without quitting the Scepter, put it upon the Empress : Then their Imperial Majesties kneeling down again, the Archbishop read this Prayer aloud.

“ **O** God, the only King of human Race, those  
“ whom thou hast chose for temporal Govern-  
“ ment, are with us now prostrate before thy Throne.  
“ We all beseech thee, O Lord, to continue them in  
“ thy Protection ; strengthen their Empire ; grant  
“ them the Grace to do always what is well-pleasing to  
“ thee ; make Righteousness to flourish in their Days,  
“ and multiply their Prosperities, to the End that  
“ under their happy Government we may live wisely  
“ and quietly, in the Practice of Virtue and Piety.”

The Empress rising up, the Emperor took the Crown from the Archbishops, and placed it on her Head, but still kept the Scepter in his Hand. Then the Archbishops pronounced their Benediction in these Words, *In the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* While the Czar was still standing with his Scepter in his Hand, the Archbishop put the Imperial Globe into the Empress's Hand, and then their Majesties sat down, and received the Compliments both of the Clergy and Laity, while the Choir sang the usual Anthem for their prosperous Reign ; after which there was a general Salvo of all the Artillery, and the Bells of all the Churches were rung, as is directed in the Liturgy.

This done, their Imperial Majesties being conducted from the Throne with the same Ceremonies as they ascended, went up to the Foot of the Altar, and from thence to their usual Seats. During the Liturgy the Empress sometimes took off her Crown ; which was committed to the Charge of the Secretary of the Cabinet. After the Prayers for the Communion were sung,  
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the Czar led the Empress, who was dressed with the Crown and the Imperial Mantle, upon a Walk of red Velvet doubled, and Tapestry worked with Gold, to the Sanctuary, where she kneeled on a Cushion embroidered with Gold. Two Bishops carried the Holy Oil in separate Vessels, and an Archbishop anointed the Empress on the Forehead, Breast, and Hands, repeating at each these Words, *In the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*. Other Archbishops wiped her with Cotton, and put it in a Chafing-Dish upon the Altar. The Archdeacon, who attended with the Holy Sacrament in a Pyx, said aloud, *Approach with Piety and Faith*; upon which she received the consecrated Bread from the Archbishop, with a little warm Wine. Two Arch-Priests of the Cathedral carried a Basen of Gold. The Archimandrite (or Abbot) of the Trinity Monastery held a Gold Ewer full of Water, and two other Abbots held the Napkin for her Majesty to wipe her Hands. Which done, their Majesties returned to their Seats in the Church; and there was a second Salvo of the Cannon, &c.

At the Close of the Service, *Theophanes*, Archbishop of *Pleskow*, made an Harangue, in which he just mentioned the rare Virtues with which Heaven had adorned the Empress, and shewed how well she deserved that Crown which she had now received from God and her Spouse; and concluded with his Congratulations in the Name of the States of the Country.

When this Office was over, the Duke of *Holstein* went to wait upon the Empress to the other Cathedral, to which she walked much in the same Order as she came from the Palace, with the Crown and Mantle, and under a rich Canopy, supported by six Major-Generals on Poles of massive Silver, on each of which were eight Eagles of Silver gilt, with Crowns, &c. and Tufts of solid Gold hung to Gold Twist. The Scepter and Globe were carried before her, and her Train was held up again by the five Ladies. At her going out of the Church, the Kettle-Drums and Trumpets sounded; there was a third Salvo of the Cannon, &c. and the

Bells rung in all the Churches, while the joyful Shouts of the Multitude rent the Skies.

Prince *Menzikoff* walked just behind the Empress, supported by the President of the Chamber of the Finances and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, each carrying a Purse of red Velvet embroidered with Gold, in which were Medals of Gold and Silver, which the Prince threw out among the Populace, while the Empress walked to the other Cathedral. As soon as she came to the Door, an Archbishop met and walked before her with a Crucifix, while the Litanies were singing, and the Empress went and paid her Devotions at the Tomb of the Czarewitz *Demetrius*, and those of the Czar's glorious Ancestors.

From thence she went in a Coach drawn by eight Horses to the Monastery of *Wofnesenki*, the Place of Interment for the Ladies of the Imperial Blood. She was attended by,

I. The Emperor's Horse Guards in green Coats and red Waistcoats, richly laced with Gold, and adorned on the Breast and Arms with the Emperor's Coat of Arms in Embroidery. Their Cartouch Cases were of Velvet, adorned with Cyphers embroidered with Gold. Their Grenado Pouches and Belts of red Velvet laid with Gold; their Buckles and Sword Hilts gilt; their Hats edged with Gold Lace, and adorned with white Cockades; their Holsters and Pistol-Cases adorned with Cyphers in Gold, and with Lace and Fringe of the same; and the Bits of the Bridles, as also the Breast and Crupper Leathers of their Horses, were covered with massive Gold: Their Kettle-Drums, which were of very fine Workmanship, were of Silver, with the Emperor's Arms, and imbossed Work in Gold and Silver.

II. Twenty four Valets, marching four a Breast on Foot; their Coats green, faced with red, their red Waistcoats spread with Gold and Silver Lace, their Hats laced with Gold, and the Hilts of their Swords gilt.

III. Twelve Pages in green Liveries, the Facings and Vest of Cloth of Gold, with red Silk Stockings

with

with Gold Clocks, and their Sword-Hilts of Silver gilt.

IV. The Empress in a Coach drawn by eight Horses, and four Footmen running before.

V. Above sixteen Heydukes marching on both sides the Coach, though at a proper Distance from the Chamberlains, and other Officers of the Court. These had green Coats and red Waistcoats, richly embroidered with Gold, the Emperor's Arms and Cyphers, the Sleeves fringed with Gold, and turned up with red Velvet: Their red Velvet Caps were edged with green Velvet, and adorned with Gold Twist, and a Star of Embroidery of Gold, with a Tuft of an Apple of Silver. On the Side were two Silver Eagles of Goldsmith's Work, and two Herons of Silver, with a Plume of red and white Feathers behind. Instead of a Belt they wore two Silver Chains fastened to a Strip of red Velvet adorned with Gold Twist. The Hilts of their Sabres were large and gilt: Their Boots, which were of *Morocco* Leather, were adorned with Buttons and other Ornaments of Silver, made by Goldsmiths, and they had the same even upon their Shoes.

VI. Lieutenant-General *Lefly* rode behind the Coach, with two Heralds at Arms, and threw Money to the People, which was carried by the proper Officers in Purfes.

VII. Six Negroes dressed in black Velvet, edged with Gold. Instead of Scarves and Bracelets they had Ornaments of red and white Feathers, and they had Plumes of the same to their Turbans, which were faced with Muslin. Their Collars were of Silver marked with their Majesties Cypher.

VIII. The Counts *Apraxin* and *Goloffkin* in a Coach and Six, (with two Pages on one Side, and two Blacks on the other) who conducted the Empress to the Gate of the Monastery, where she was received by an Archbishop carrying a Crucifix, and attended by all the Nuns, and her Train was held up by five Ladies of the second Rank.

After she had performed her Devotion at the Tombs of the Ladies of the Imperial Family in that Monastery, she returned to the Imperial Palace, where the Duke of *Holstein* handed her out of the Coach, and had her to his Apartment, where the Czar expected her, while the Service was getting ready in the Hall of Solemnities.

This Hall for its Bigness and Ornaments is one of the finest in *Europe*, and the Windows, being proportionably large, make it very light. The Roof rests upon one single Pillar in the Middle. The Cornices and Pedestals which are of fine Work in Plaister of *Paris*; all the Wainscot, which is of curious Workmanship and three Feet in Height, was hung with red Velvet and rich Cloth of Gold, flowered at *China*, and the Floor was covered with *Persian* Carpets of an extraordinary Size and Beauty. A Place was made for the Imperial Princesses, and the Duchesses of *Mecklenbourg* and *Courland* to see the Solemnity, which was hung with Cloth adorned with Gold Fringe, and abundance of Ribbons. Round the Pillar a Table was set with Vessels of Gold and Silver, the Workmanship of *Greek* and *Roman* Antiquity, and adorned with Pearls of the East, and precious Stones. The Table where their Imperial Majesties were to eat, was set upon a raised Floor spread with red Velvet and Gold Lace, under a Canopy of the same hung with Ribbons. The Table where the Duke of *Holstein* was to eat alone, was on the left. There was another beyond for Persons of the first Quality, and particularly for those who assisted at the Coronation; and there was a third on the same Side for the chief secular Prelates, who officiated likewise in that Ceremony. Over against this there was one for the Ladies and Gentlemen who had any Hand in it; and there was a Theatre for the Musick.

When all Things were ready for their Procession into the Hall, they entered it in the following Order.

I. The Masters of the Ceremonies.

II. The two great Cup Bearers, of whom the Count *Apraxin* officiated, during the Feast, as Carver.

III. The



III. The great Steward, followed by the Grand Marshal.

IV. The Czar and his two Supporters.

V. The Czarina, led by the Duke of *Holstein*, and supported as in the former Procession, the Train of the Imperial Mantle being born by five Ladies of the first Rank.

VI. The chief Ladies of Quality, both of the Court and Empire, with the Czarina's Maids of Honour.

VII. The other Persons of Note of both Sexes, Clergy and Laity, placed themselves in two Rows on both Sides, according to their Rank.

When their Majesties were under the Canopy, the Blessing was craved, or rather given by an Archbishop, and then the whole Company took their proper Places. The Dishes were laid on by the Czar's Lieutenant-Generals, and as often as he called for a fresh Course, the Grand Marshal gave the Word to the Master of the Ceremonies to go out with the Officers and give Orders for it ; and as often as this was done, the Master of the Ceremonies was followed by the Officers in waiting, after whom went the chief Carver, and then the Grand Marshal. And all from the first to the last stood at the Hall Gate to receive the Dishes, which they carried up in the following Order. 1. The Grand Marshal. 2. The Great Steward. 3. The chief Carver. 4. The Officers who carried the Service, each Dish of which was guarded by two Gentlemen of the Horse Guards, with their Carbines ; and 5. The Master of the Ceremonies.

The great Steward ranged the Dishes, and took them off, and at every Time bent the Knee, and the others who waited on their Majesties with the Plates and Glasses served them on the Knee. They eat and drank out of Gold, and the Pyramids of Sweetmeats were brought in Basons of Gold. The Duke of *Holstein* too was served by Officers of the first Rank. At the same Time a Stage was erected before the Hall, where the Fountains ran with red and white Wines, and Oxen and all Manner of Fowls were roasted for the Populace.

Before the Court rose from the Table, Prince *Menzi-koff* distributed great Medals, of Gold representing the Coronation, to all the Persons of Distinction who had assisted in it; and then their Majesties returned to their Apartments in the same Order as they came.

This Solemnity over, his Imperial Majesty still pursued his usual Endeavours to encourage the Commerce of his Subjects, and to advance them in Arts and Sciences; for the Increase of the latter, he caused a strict Search to be made by his express Order, for all the ancient *Greek* Manuscripts, that had been hid for many Ages in the *Grecian* Convents, by Reason of the great Ignorance of the Monks. It was found that many of these *Grecian* Manuscripts had been sent to *Peterburgh* by Means of the House of *Medicis*, from whence the late Great Duke of *Tuscany* was descended, in whose Country many of the learned *Greeks*, who fled with their best Manuscripts, upon divers Occasions, from the Tyranny of the *Turks*, were well entertained, and enabled to go from thence to *Moscow*, where the Faith of the *Greek* Church was always professed.

His Majesty made also several wise and necessary Regulations, and, as *M. Fontenelle* says, DARED to retrench the Churches and Monasteries that were too rich. One of his Regulations concerning Cloysters consisted of the following Heads: 1. That for the future, no more than fifty Monasteries for Men should be allowed throughout all *Russia*. 2. That in each Cloyster or Monastery the Number of Monks should not be above fifty, though it might be under. 3. That no Monk under forty Years should be received into a Cloyster, and that for each of them no more than one Rouble *per* Week should be allowed to subsist upon. 4. That those Monks who were at present under forty Years should immediately go out of the Cloysters, and be employed in some publick Affairs. And as there were many hundred Cloysters in *Russia*, the Revenues of which amounted to several Millions of Roubles, they should be appropriated to the PUBLICK TREASURY.

At the latter End of the Year his Majesty invited the foreign Ministers, &c. to the Ceremony of betrothing the



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the Princess *Anna Petrowna* to the Duke of *Holfstein* \*. The Emperor himself joining the illustrious Pair, by exchanging the Rings, giving them a Kiss, and wishing them a long Life ; after which the Archbishop of *Novogorod* gave them his Blessing in a few Words. The Ceremony was closed with the joyful Acclamations of the whole Assembly, who cried out *Vivant*, and clapped their Hands. The betrothed Princess presented afterwards a Glass of Wine to both their Majesties, to the Duke her future Spouse, and to the principal Lords and Ladies, from whom she then received the Compliments of Congratulation. The Feast prepared on this Occasion was preceded by a curious Firework, and followed with a Ball.

Two Days after the several Colleges in Bodies, waited upon his Royal Highness with their Compliments ; the foreign Ministers did the same, and were afterwards entertained at Dinner, together with the High-Admiral *Apraxin*, the Field Marechal Prince *Repnin*, the Attorney-General † *Jagufinski*, &c. Great Rejoicings were made all over the City of *Petersburgh* on this Occasion ; and his Czarish Majesty purchased the Palace formerly belonging to the Grand-Admiral *Apraxin*, which was magnificently furnished for the Residence of the Duke and his future Spouse : But a sudden Damp was put to all this Joy by the Apprehensions of the greatest Calamity that could befall the Nation, I mean the Loss of that great Prince, who was truly the *Father of his Country* ; for on the 16<sup>th</sup> of *January*, his Majesty was attended with a violent Cold, which brought on him a Fit of the Cholick, and that followed by a Stranguary, occasioned by an Abscess in the Neck of his Bladder : He continued in great Misery for a Week, without being

\* *Charles Frederick*, born the 29<sup>th</sup> of *April* 1700, at *Stockholm* ; his Mother being eldest Sister to the present Queen of *Sweden* ; and his Father Generalissimo of the *Swedish* Army, killed at the Battle of *Chiffau* in *Poland*, in the Month of *July*, 1702.

† This *Jagufinski* was a great Favourite of the Czar's, and, as a late Author says, was a Man of great Capacity, whom the Czar had Reason to value for his good Services, and no one could, with Justice, complain of him.



once in Bed, when his Physicians thought proper to break the Abscess with a Probe, which indeed brought out a great deal of Matter, and gave him much Ease, with Hopes of Recovery ; but the Application being made too late, he suffered most violent Torture for four Days more, and then expired, *viz.* on the 28<sup>th</sup> of *January*, 1725 ; giving all the Tokens of a perfect Resignation to the Will of Heaven, and all along behaving with the same Courage and Piety that accompanied all his Actions.

Even in the Extremity of these painful Disorders, he laid out some of his Time in providing for the Safety and Welfare of his People, which could be no Way better confirmed to them than in the Choice he had made of a worthy Successor ; and when he found his End approaching, he gave Orders that the Oath should be again administered, which was formerly taken in Behalf of his beloved and deserving Empress CATHARINE.

M. *de la Motraye* relates the following remarkable Passage of his last Sickness : “ When the Senators and Bishops who visited him, and mentioned the Obligations which the *Russian* Nation lay under to him, for raising it to so considerable a Figure, by reforming of such a Variety of Abuses and bad Customs, and introducing so many useful Arts and Sciences ; he told them, that he had forgot to reform one of the most important Points of all the ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE ; because Law-Suits in *Christendom* last for Years, and even Ages together, with an infinite Expence ; (whereas in *Turkey* they are determined in a few Days, and with very little Charge ;) and all this is occasioned by the tedious and litigious Pleadings of the Lawyers, who perplex human Laws in the same Manner as too many Divines do the Law of God, instead of explaining it. To remedy this, he determined, that Causes (as among the *Turks*) should be carried at first to the Tribunal of the Magistrate, or ordinary Judge ; that Proofs in Writing, and Witnesses should be produced, and the Characters and Behaviour of the latter should be particularly examined, and so an impartial Judgment should be pronounced,

“ all

“ all which would be finished in a few Hours: But if  
 “ the Party condemned by that Court, should think  
 “ himself injured, that he might appeal from this Sen-  
 “ tence to the Senate, or Synod, and, even after a se-  
 “ cond Judgment against him, to the Sovereign him-  
 “ self.

“ Those that were present applauding this Scheme,  
 “ he commanded an Order to be drawn up, which he  
 “ signed and dated from his Bed, and it was sent im-  
 “ mediately to all the Courts of his Empire. This  
 “ Order limited the Determination of all Causes to the  
 “ Term of eleven Days, and in Consequence of it, all  
 “ the Suits then depending were decided before he closed  
 “ his Eyes, which was on the twelfth Day from his be-  
 “ ing first taken ill.”

The Princess *Natalia Petrowna*, the Emperor's third  
 Daughter, by the Empress *Catharine*, dying on the 15<sup>th</sup>  
 of *March* following, in the tenth Year of her Age, the  
 Funeral Obsequies of both the Father and Daughter were  
 performed together on the 21<sup>st</sup>, with such extraordinary  
 Pomp, that perhaps the Reader may not be displeased  
 at a particular Account of it.

I. A Harbinger of the Court on Horseback, in a  
 Mourning-Cloke.

II. M. *Sentrovius*, Chief Master of the Ceremonies,  
 holding in his Hand a Marshal's Staff, with the Arms  
 of *Russia*, covered with black and white Crape.

III. The first Pair of Kettle-Drums covered with  
 black, and carried by two Men also in black.

IV. Twelve Trumpets, marching three and three a-  
 breast in Mourning.

V. The second Pair of Kettle-Drums.

VI. Twelve more Trumpets.

VII. The third Pair of Kettle-Drums.

VIII. Twelve more Trumpets.

IX. The fourth Pair of Kettle-Drums.

X. Twelve other Trumpets, with four Hautboys,  
 and four Pair of Kettle-Drums more.

XI. Thirty-six Pages, marching three and three.

XII. Their Governor.

XIII. Thirty-six Officers of the Court.

XIV. M. *Majotti*, Marshal of the Merchants.

XV. Thirty-six foreign Ministers, three and three abreast.

XVI. The Marshal of the Deputies.

XVII. Twenty-one Deputies from the conquered Towns.

XVIII. The Marshal of the Nobility.

XIX. Twenty-one Noblemen from the conquered Provinces.

XX. A second Harbinger.

XXI. A fourth Marshal.

XXII. The Standard of War, carried by Colonel *Wojekost*.

XXIII. The late Emperor's War-Horse, with a Saddle of yellow Velvet, adorned with Pearls and Diamonds, and two Tufts of Feathers, led by the Lieutenant-Colonels *Cooningh* and *Kinastoff*, and followed by a Groom with a Horfewhip.

XXIV. Thirty-two Standards of the Provinces, with the Arms of each Province, conducted by a Captain. The Provinces to which the Standards belong being *Circassia*, *Cabardinski*, *Grazinski*, *Carthalinski*, *Iweriski*, *Rostow*, *Resan*, *Cerdniski*, *Udorki*, *Boloseriski*, *Nisfgorad*, *Bolgarski*, *Wintski*, *Permski*, *Iweriski*, *Pleskow*, *Ingermania*, *Carelia*, *Livonia*, *Esthonia*, *Smolensko*, *Siberia*, *Jereslaw*, *Astracan*, *Casan*, *Novogorod*, *Wolodimir*, and *Moscow*.

XXV. Thirty-two Horses caparison'd in black, with the Arms of the thirty-two Provinces, conducted by two Lieutenants.

XXVI. The Flag of the Admiralty, born by a Colonel.

XXVII. The Standard of the Empire itself, born also by a Colonel.

XXVIII. The Horse of the Empire led by two Lieutenant-Colonels, and followed by a Groom.

XXIX. A white Standard, with Inscriptions, carried by Count *Gollowin*.

XXX. The Horse of State without a Saddle, covered with green Velvet, embroidered with Gold, with white Feathers

Feathers on its Head, and round the Neck, and charged on each Sidé with Inscriptions to the Honour of his Imperial Majesty, led by two Lieutenant-Colonels, and followed by a Groom.

XXXI. A Gentleman on Horseback, armed from Top to Toe, upon a *Barbary* Horse, with a Sword in his Hand, and followed by two Halbardiers in Helms.

XXXII. A Cuirassier on Foot, with his Cuirass and Helmet both black, and the Sword in his Hand pointing to the Ground.

XXXIII. A black Standard carried by a Colonel, with his Sword likewise pointed to the Ground.

XXXIV. The Mourning-Horse.

XXXV. M. *Ulian Sinawin*, Great-Master of the Ceremonies, and Surveyor of the Works.

XXXVI. The Arms of *Siberia*, *Astracan*, *Casan*, *Novogrod*, *Wolodimir*, *Kiow*, and *Moscow*, which are the seven principal Escutcheons of the Empire, carried by Colonels.

XXXVII. The same Arms, but larger, carried by Major-Generals, supported by four Gentlemen.

XXXVIII. The Imperial Cross.

XXXIX. Seventy Choristers.

XL. Fifty Monks.

XLI. Twenty Priests.

XLII. and XLIII. Fourscore Priors and Abbots.

XLIV. Eight Bishops and Archbishops.

XLV. Two Marshals.

XLVI. The Archducal Crown carried upon a Cushion of Cloth of Gold, by Major-General *Gollowin*.

XLVII. The Corpse of the Princess *Natalia*, carried by sixteen Majors; the Canopy, which was of Cloth of Gold embroidered with Silver, being supported by six Lieutenant-Colonels; and the Pall, which was of Cloth of Gold, being held up by four Brigadiers.

XLVIII. Two Heralds of Arms.

XLIX. Four Swords of the Empire, carried by four Colonels.

L. The Order of the White-Eagle, with the Star, carried by Prince *Trowbetzkoy*, upon a Cushion of Cloth of Gold.

LI. The Order of *Denmark*, carried by Prince *Dolg ruki*.

LII. The Order of *Russia*, carried by the Attorney-General *Jagufinski*.

LIII. The Crown of *Siberia*, carried by the Lieutenant-General *Munich*.

LIV. The Crown of *Astracan*, by Vice-Admiral *Wilster*.

LV. The Crown of *Casan*, carried by the Vice-Admiral *Ismajarwitz*.

LVl. The Imperial Globe, by the Vice-Admiral *Gordon*.

LVII. The Imperial Scepter, by the Vice-Admiral *Sivers*.

LVIII. The Crown of the Empire of *Russia*, carried by General *Butturlin*.

LIX. Three Marshals, viz. Lieutenant-General *Born*, and the Major-Generals *Chernischoff* and *le Fort*.

LX. Two Majors, with their Swords drawn pointed towards the Ground, attended by a hundred Halberdiers.

LXI. The Corpse of the Emperor, drawn by eight Horses, caparison'd with black Velvet, with eight Colonels, and eight Gentlemen of the Horse on each Side. Twelve Colonels conducted the Corpse; eight Brigadiers held up the Tassels of the Canopy, viz. Prince *Wolodimir*, and Messieurs *Sottoff*, *Ligeroff*, *Bredial*, *Leen*, *Bauloff*, *Boltin*, and *Ney*. The Canopy was supported by the Major-Generals *Colon*, *Sanders*, *Sinawin*, *Soltikoff*, *Otten*, *Henning*, *Urbanowitz*, and Count *Ragufinski*. The four Corners of the Pall were supported by the Privy-Counsellors the Baron *de Osterman*, *Demetrius Galiczin*, Prince *Rodomirski*, and *Peter Apraxin*, President of the College of Justice.

LXII. Three Marshals, viz. the Lieutenant-General *Lefsy*, and the Major-Generals *Joniopost* and *Yschacoff*.

LXIII.



LXIII. The Empress on Foot, led by Prince *Menzi-koff*, and the Admiral-General *Apraxin*. Three Chamberlains carried her Train, and six Gentlemen walked before.

LXIV. The Princess *Ann Petrovna*, led by Prince *Repin*, and the Great-Chancellor *Gollofskin*; and a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, followed by four other Gentlemen, carried the Train.

LXV. The Princess *Elizabeth Petrovna*, led by the General Baron *Hallard*, and Count *Tolstoi*; a Gentleman of the Court with four other Gentlemen carried her Train.

LXVI. The Duchess of *Mecklenbourg*, *Catharine Joanowna*, led by the Great Cup-bearer Count *Apraxin*, and Colonel *Jaseny*. A Gentleman held up her Train.

LXVII. The Princess *Prescovia Joanowna*, led by the Cup-bearer *Solticoff*, and the Knees *Chavanski*. A Gentleman carried her Train.

LXVIII. The Great Dutcheſs.

*She could not aſſiſt at this Funeral Proceſſion, becauſe of her Indiſpoſition.*

LXIX. The Princess *Livovvina Naraskin*, led by two Lieutenants; the Train was carried by her Domesticks.

LXX. The Duke of *Holſtein*, accompanied by *Alefeld* Counſellor of the Conference, and by the Great Chamberlain Count *Bonde*. The Train was born by the Chamberlain *Thick*, followed by the Maſhal *Plaaten*, and by the Chamberlains *Brumer*, *Graaf*, and *Berghnitz*.

LXXI. The Great Duke *Alexiewitz*, ſupported by two Gentlemen; a third bore his Train, and two others followed.

LXXII. The two Princes *Livovvina Naraskin*.

LXXIII. The Officers of the Court.

LXXIV. A Maſhal.

LXXV. The Ladies of the Empreſs's Court.

LXXVI. Thoſe of the firſt Princeſs.

LXXVII. Thoſe of the ſecond Princeſs.

LXXVIII. The reſt of the Court Ladies.

LXXIX. The other Ladies.

LXXX.

LXXX. A Marshal.

LXXXI. The Officers of the Colleges from the first unto the ninth Clafs.

LXXXII. A Marshal.

LXXXIII. The Bowyers and Gentlemen.

LXXXIV. A Marshal.

LXXXV. The Burghers.

LXXXVI. The Harbingers.

I shall conclude this History of PETER THE GREAT, with the following EPITAPH on him, wrote in a Stile fuitable to the sublime Subject of it, which I received some Years ago from my worthy and ingenious Friend *Christopher Wyvill*, Esq; I know not whether he is the Author of it himself, or whether it has ever been in print; but this I know, that he has a Genius equal to the Performance, and that the Publick as well as my self are indebted to him for its Preservation in this Work.

EPITAPH

E P I T A P H I U M.

Hic jacent  
 Reliquiæ, vix mortales,  
 PETRI ALEXOWITZ  
*Russiarum Imperatoris* haud opus est dicere,  
 Honorem enim isti Diademati addidit, non  
 recepit.  
 Taceat Antiquitas,  
 Cedat ALEXANDEE,  
 Cedat CÆSAR;  
 Se facilem præbet Victoria  
 Heroum Ductoribus,  
 Milites vinci nescios Imperantibus;  
 Sed ILLE,  
 Qui in morte sola requiescit,  
 Non Famæ avidos,  
 Non Bello peritissimos,  
 Non homines Mortem temnentes,  
 Sed Bruta, vixque humani nominis dignos Subditos  
 Invenit;  
 Etiam hos, compatriis urbis simillimos, & aversantes  
 Expolivit;  
 Barbaritatis Hæreditariæ tenebras ille Phæbus  
 Fugavit,  
 Et propria virtute *Germanorum* Victores vicit.  
 Alii felicissimè Exercitus duxerunt, hic creavit.  
 Erubescere, Ars!  
 Hic Vir maximus tibi nihil debuit:  
 Exulta Natura!  
 Hoc Stupendium tuum est.

E P I T A P H.

## EPI TAPH.

*Here under deposited  
Lies all that could die of a Man immortal,*

PETER ALEXOWITZ,  
*It is almost superfluous to add  
GREAT EMPEROR of RUSSIA :  
A Title !*

*Which, instead of adding to His Glory,  
Became glorious by His wearing it.*

*Let Antiquity be dumb,  
Nor boast her ALEXANDER,  
Or her CÆSAR.*

*How easy was Victory  
To Leaders, who were followed by Heroes !  
And whose Soldiers felt a noble Disdain,  
To be thought less awake than their Generals !*

*But HE,  
Who, in this Place, first knew Rest,  
Found Subjects base and unactive,  
Unwarlike, unlearn'd, untractable,  
Neither covetous of Fame,  
Nor liberal of Danger ;  
Creatures, with the Names of Men,  
But with Qualities rather brutal than rational ;  
Yet, even These*

*He polish'd from their native Ruggedness,  
And, breaking out like a new Sun,  
To illuminate the Minds of a People,  
Dispell'd their Night of Hereditary Darknes ;  
Till, by Force of His invincible Influence,  
He had taught them to conquer  
Even the Conquerors of Germany.  
Other Princes have commanded victorious Armies,  
This Commander created them !*

*Blush, O Art !  
At a Hero, who ow'd Thee nothing.  
Exult, O Nature !  
For Thine was this Prodigy.*







*T. Spence Lowe sculp.*

*To her Grace the  
This PLATE is most*



*Duchess of BUCKINGHAMSHIRE  
humbly Dedicated.*



## APPENDIX.

*The following is the Account which I promised  
in the first Volume of this Work, of Mr. IS-  
BRANT'S Journey from Moscow to China.*

HE left *Moscow* in the Month of *March*, on a Sledge, but had got but a very little Way on his Journey, before it rained so hard, that he was exposed to very great Danger, by the Abundance of Waters he met with in his Road to *Wologda*, where he stay'd some Days, to recover the Fatigue he had gone through, and wait for fair Weather. The Frost coming on again, the Ways were passable, and he pursued his Journey toward *Suchina*, and from thence to the City of the great *Ustigia*, where the *Suchina* and the *Irga* uniting their Streams from the famous River of *Dwina*, which Name means a double River.

He arrived next in the Country of the *Syrenes*, whose Inhabitants speak a Language very different from the *Russian*, tho' somewhat like that which is spoke in *Livonia*, as he was informed by some of his Train, who were of that Country. They are of the *Greek Church*, and subject to his *Czarian Majesty*, to whom they pay the customary Duties, but have neither Governor nor *Wairode*. They chuse their own Judges, and if any Question arises that they are unable to decide, they go to *Moscow*, where they have Recourse to the *Precause* of *Posolske*, or Office for foreign Affairs. They differ very little from the *Russians* in Stature, and wear the same Dress that was in Use among them, 'till altered by the Orders of *PETER I.* They are very ignorant, and have no Tradition among them concerning their own  
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History. They subsist chiefly by Agriculture, except a Part of them, upon the Banks of the River *Zizol*, who have some grey Furs to traffick with. They live very little in Towns, but for the most part, in little Villages and Hamlets, scattered up and down in the Woods. The Country is about seventy long *German Leagues* in Length, and extends quite to *Kaigorod*, butting upon a great Forest, where M. *Isbrant* was a second Time taken with a violent Thaw, and heavy Rain, that in one Night's Time, caused a Flood of Waters all round the Wood, which retarded him for four Days without being able to go backwards or forwards. At length, with great Difficulty, he got away, by throwing Bridges over the Rivers, and other Helps; and came to *Kaigorod*, a pretty considerable Fortrefs upon the *Kama*, on the 16<sup>th</sup> of *April*.

He would willingly have held on his Way quite to *Solikamski*, the Capital of the great *Permia*, that he might have gone by Land to *Siberia*, over the Mountains of *Wergotur*; but the Thaw continuing, he found it impracticable; therefore it being just at the Close of the Winter Season, he resolved to stay some Days, 'till the *Kama* should become navigable; providing himself, in the mean Time with every Thing necessary for the Pursuit of his Journey, as well as to defend himself against the Free-booters in those Parts, who had not long before, pillaged even the City of *Kaigorod* itself.

On the 27<sup>th</sup> he arrived at *Solikamskoi*, which is a large and rich City, where are many considerable Merchants, and very fine Salt Works. They make large Quantities of Salt here, which they send away in large Vessels built for that Purpose, in each of which they load a hundred and twenty thousand Weight at a Time.

On the 14<sup>th</sup> of *May*, he embarked at *Solikamskoi*, and crossing the little River of *Ufolkat*, half a League from this City, he entered the *Kama* again, and crossed that River from *Europe* to *Asia*, arriving in the Country of the first *Tartars* of *Siberia*, called *Wogulski*, which is indifferently well peopled, and a most pleasant Country all along the Banks of the *Susarwaia*, having on it all Sorts of Flowers and odoriferous Herbs; with prodigious

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*The WOGULSKI TARTARS*



*T. Spindelowa sculp.*

*To the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>*

*This PLATE is most*



*the Earl of GODOLPHIN.*

*humbly Dedicated.*



gious Numbers of Deer, and all Sorts of Game. As the *Tartars* of *Wogul* upon this River are Heathens, he had the Curiosity to go on Shore to talk with them concerning their Belief and Manner of Life.

They are robust, with large Heads; and their Religion consists of no more than making an Offering once a Year. To this Purpose they assemble in the Woods, and there kill a Beast of each Kind; tho' their chief Victims are Horses, and a Sort of Goats. They slay them, and then hanging them upon a Tree, fall down before them, which is their only Worship. They eat the Flesh together afterwards, and then return Home. They are not able to give any Manner of Reason for their Belief, or Way of Worship; but think it is enough, that they received it from their Fathers. Strange People, who say their Prayers but once a Year, and that to a dead Horse!

M. *Isbrant*, the *Muscovite* Minister, asked them if they had any Knowledge of a God, and if they did not believe there was a Supreme Being in Heaven, who created all Things, and governs the World by his good Providence, and who gives Rain and fair Weather? They answered, it was not unlikely, seeing the Sun and Moon, which they worshipped, and the other Stars, were placed in the Firmament, and that there was doubtless a Power that ruled them: But they would by no means agree that there was a Devil, because he had never made himself known to them: Yet they do not deny the Resurrection of the Dead, but know nothing of what is to become of them. When any one of them dies, the Body is deposited in the Ground, and covered with their most precious Ornaments, whether the Deceased be Man or Woman: They erect no Monuments to the Dead, but they put Money by them, in Proportion to their Circumstances when living, that they may want nothing necessary for them at the Day of Resurrection. They make great Lamentations about the Bodies of their Dead; nor must any Man marry a second Wife, 'till he has buried his first a Year. When they happen to have a Dog die, that has been serviceable to them in Hunting, or any other Way; in Honour  
of

of him, they erect a little wooden Hut, six Feet high, upon four Posts, where they place him, and let him remain as long as it lasts.

They may have as many Wives as they can maintain; and when they want to marry, they buy their Wives of their Parents, and have scarce any Ceremony at their Weddings: They only invite their nearest Relations to be present, and having entertained them, the new-married Couple go to Bed without any more to do. When the Women draw near the Time of their Delivery, they retire into a Wood, to a Cabbin prepared for them on purpose, where they lie in, and their Husbands are not to go near them for two Months.

They live in square Wooden Huts, after the Manner of the *Russian* Peasants; but use Hearths instead of Stoves, and burn Wood. As soon as the Wood is burnt to a Coal, they cover the Opening, where the Smoke went out, with a Piece of Ice, and by that Means retain all the Heat in the Room, without shutting out the Light, which shines through the Ice at Top. They use no Chairs, but have, instead of them, Benches like Taylors Shop-Boards in *England*, upon which, like them too, they sit cross Legg'd, and the same serve them for Beds at Night.

They subsist by Hunting; their chief Game is Elks, which abound in this Country. They shoot them with Arrows, and dry their Flesh, which they cut in Slices or Slips, and hang it up in the Air in their Houses; and when it has been thoroughly wet, and is quite putrified, they dry it a second Time, and then account it delicious Food. They have Snares and Traps to take the Elks, as well as by shooting them. These *Tartars* live all along the River *Susarwaia*, quite to the Castle of *Utka*, and are under the Protection of the Czar, to whom they pay an annual Tribute.

M. *Isbrant* having quitted the Country of these Heathens, arrived on the first of *June*, at the Fortress of *Utka*, upon the Frontiers of the *Tartars* of *Baskir* and *Ussimi*; and from thence proceeded to *Nenjan/koi*, than between which Places a finer Country is hardly to be seen, full of Meadows, Woods, Lakes, well cultivated Lands, abounding

abounding with every Thing, and well peopled with *Russians*. Upon the 21<sup>st</sup> of *June* he arrived at *Tumeen*, which is also well peopled; three Fourths of the Inhabitants are Christians, and the rest *Mahometan Tartars*. When the Envoy arrived here, he found the People in the Town, and all the Neighbourhood in a Consternation on Account of the *Cossacks* and *Calmuck Tartars*, who had just then made an Invasion into *Siberia*, where they had plundered several Villages, and killed the Inhabitants, and now threatned this Town, from whence they were not above fifteen *German Leagues* distant. But the Governor sent for Troops from *Tobol*, and some other Places, with which he pursued, and killed a Number of the *Tartars*. The *Muscovite* Minister thought it not convenient to stay here; but embarked on the *Tobol* with a new Set of Rowers and a Guard of Soldiers.

Upon the 1<sup>st</sup> of *July*, he happily arrived at *Tobolsky*, a strong Place, where is a large Stone Monastery with Towers so high, that it might be well mistaken for a Fortress. This City stands upon a Hill at the Conflux of the *Tobol* and the *Irtis*. The Foot of the Hill, and the Shore of the *Irtis*, are inhabited by *Tartars*, and *Mahometan Bucharians*, who carry on a great Trade with the *Calmucks*, upon the River, and even go as far as *China*, by the Lake *Jamaschowwa*.

*Tobolsky* is the Capital of *Siberia*, and its Jurisdiction reaches as far Southward as *Barabu*; from *Wergotur* to the River *Oby*, to the Eastward of the *Samoieds*; to the Northward quite to the Country of the *Ostiacks*; and Westward as far as *Ussa*, and the River *Susarwaia*. We have already described *Siberia*, and related how it became subject to *Muscovy*.

*M. Isbrant* having provided himself with every Thing necessary, and particularly with a good Guard, departed from *Tobolsky*, and fell down the *Irtis*, upon the Shores of which are several Villages, inhabited by *Tartars* and *Ostiacks*; he arrived at *Samoroskoi-jam*, where he changed his Rowers, and raised Masts in the larger Vessels, to be able to set sail up the *Oby*, when the Wind should be favourable, the *Irtis* falling into this River by several Openings not far from *Samoroskoi-jam*.

The

The Water of the *Irtis* is white and light, and comes from the Mountains in the Country of the *Calmucks*. This River runs from the South to the North-East, and passes through the two Lakes of *Keback* and *Susan*. To the South-East, it is bordered by lofty Mountains, which are crowned with Cedars, and the Land on the other Side, to the North-West, is low, and full of Pasture Grounds, where are great black Bears, Wolves, Foxes, red and grey; and upon the Banks of the River *Kasimka*, which discharges itself into the *Oby*, not far from *Samarofkoi-jam*, are the finest grey Furs of all *Siberia*, excepting those in the Woods of *Heetkoi Wollok*.

The Inhabitants in this Country are for the most Part *Russians*, in the Pay of his Czarian Majesty, and are obliged to furnish the *Waiwodes* sent hither, and all those who travel into *Siberia*, upon the Prince's Business, with Carriages and Guides, as well to go by Water in the Summer, as upon the Ice in Winter, as far as the City of *Surgut*, upon the *Oby*, at reasonable Rates. They keep a great Number of Dogs to draw their Sledges in the Winter, not being able to use Horses, on Account of the Depth of the Snow, which is sometimes a Fathom deep upon the *Oby*.

They put two of these Dogs to a very light Sledge, upon which they may load two or three hundred Weight, and neither the Dogs nor the Sledge make the least Impression upon the Snow.

Upon the 29<sup>th</sup> of *July*, M. *Isbrant* departed from *Samarofkoi-jam*, and with two Vessels went down the principal Branch of the *Irtis*, towards the *Oby*, where he arrived the next Day; and upon the 6<sup>th</sup> of *August*, came to *Surgut*, which stands upon the East Side of this River. In these Parts, up the Country to the Eastward, going up the *Oby*, from *Surgut*, quite to the City of *Narum*, are very fine Sables, as well of a pale Brown as Black; also the finest Ermins of all *Siberia*, and even of all *Russia*; and black Foxes of unspeakable Beauty; the finest of which are set apart for his Czarian Majesty, and are sometimes valued at two or three hundred Roubles a-piece: Some of them exceed the choicest Sables of *Dauria*.

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*To the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the  
This PLATE is most*



*Earl of CHESTERFIELD  
humbly Dedicated*

Having been some Time mounting the *Oby*, sometimes by the Help of the Sail, sometimes by the slow Labour of the Tow-Line, M. *Isbrant* crossed the Mouth of the River *Wagga*, which falls down from the Mountains of *Trugan*, and empties itself into the *Oby*, to the North-West, below *Narum*, a small City, where he arrived on the 24<sup>th</sup> of *August*. This City stands on the River Side, in a fine Country, and is defended by a Citadel with a good Garrison of *Cossacks*.

The Banks of the *Oby* are inhabited by a People called *Ostiacks*, who worship Idols; tho' at the same Time, they acknowledge there is a God in Heaven, but pay him no Adoration. They have Idols of Wood, and Idols of Earth, in human Form, which they fashion with their own Hands, and which, such of them as can afford it, clothe in Silk, after the Manner of *Russian* Habits. These Idols stand in their Cabbins, which are of the Bark of Trees, sewed together with the Guts of Deer, and have, on one Side of them, Bundles of Hair, and a little Bucket full of a Sort of Broth, of which they give them some every Day, in a Spoon made on Purpose, and which always run down the Corners of their Mouths, and makes them very nasty. When they worship their Idols, or pray to them, they stand upright, and make strange Motions with the Head, without bowing the Body at all, and make a Noise like those who call Dogs. They have neither Temples nor Priests.

The *Ostiacks* marry as many Wives as they can maintain, and make no Scruple to wed with their nearest Relations. When one of them is jealous of his Wife, he cuts some Hair from the Belly of a Bear, and carries it to the Person he suspects to be great with her; if he is innocent, he accepts it; but when he is guilty, he fairly owns it, and comes to an amicable Agreement with the Husband for the Price of his Wife: Nor dare they act otherwise, persuaded that if a Man should presume to accept the Hair when he is guilty, the Bear from whom it was cut, would devour him in three Days Time. When their Friends and Relations die, they lament about the Body for some Days, without ceasing, with their Heads covered up, and on their Knees, without seeing any

any Body; and then they carry it to the Grave upon Poles. They are very poor, and in Summer live in miserable Huts; but they might easily better their Condition, the Country about the *Oby* affording Plenty of Furs, and the River being stored with Fish, especially Sturgeon, twenty of which of the largest Size, they will sell for about Three-pennyworth of Tobacco: But they are too lazy to work, and seek only for what may serve for a miserable Subsistence in the Winter.

They hardly eat any Thing but Fish, when they travel, and especially when they are fishing. They are of a middling Stature, with Hair either fair or red, and broad flat Faces and Noses. They are not at all inclined to War, and know nothing of the Use of Arms; tho' they have both Bows and Arrows for Hunting, but are not at all dexterous with them. They cover themselves with the Skins of certain Fish, and particularly with that of the Sturgeon, and have no Manner of Linnen. Their Stockings and Shoes are all of a Piece, and over all they wear a short Kind of loose Waistcoat, to which is fastened a Kind of Cap, that they pull over their Heads when it rains. Their Shoes, which are also of Fish-skin, are not Water-Proof, so that they are always wet shod. They undergo all the Rigours of a most dreadful Cold upon the Water, without any seeming Pain, and clothed no otherwise than above-mentioned, except the Winter prove very hard indeed, and then put on two loose Waistcoats: But when this happens, it is a kind of *Æra* with them, and they will ask one another if they remember the Winter when they wore two Waistcoats? They wear but one when they hunt in the Winter, and never cover their Breasts, thinking they shall sufficiently heat themselves, with running up and down in the Snow, with their Sledge Shoes. When they happen to be overtaken with an extraordinary Frost, that they are unable to withstand, they strip themselves as fast as they can, and bury themselves deep in the Snow, that they may die the sooner, and with less Pain. The Women are dressed much after the same Fashion with the Men.

Their chief Diverſion is hunting the Bear, upon which they go in Companies, but no otherwise armed than with

Sort of sharp Knife, made fast to the End of a Staff, about six Feet long. When they have killed a Bear, they cut off his Head, and hanging it up to a Tree, they run about it, and seem to pay it great Honours.

They have petty Princes among them, one of which came on board to see M. *Isbrant*. This Man was appointed over some hundred Cabbins, and gathered the Tribute these People are obliged to pay his Czarian Majesty's *Waiwodes*. He came with all his Train; brought him a Present of fresh Fish, and returned highly pleased with an Exchange of Brandy and Tobacco. He came a second Time, and invited M. *Isbrant* to his Palace, who, out of Curiosity, accepting his Invitation, and going thither, was received by the Prince himself, and conducted into his House, which was made of the Barks of Trees, like the other Cabbins, but not extremely well sewed together. The *Muscovite* Minister here saw four of the Prince's Wives, the youngest of which had on a red Cloth Petticoat, with a great deal of Coral and Glass about her Neck and Waist, as also in the Tresses of her Hair, which hung down on each Side, and upon her Shoulders: She had great Rings or Buckles in her Ears, from whence hung Strings of Coral Beads. These Ladies, each of them offered him a little Tub, made of Bark, full of dry'd Fish, and the youngest a Tub of Sturgeon, yellow as Gold itself: He, in Return, regaled them with Brandy and Tobacco, which are great Delicacies with them. This Cabbin had no other Furniture than some Cradles, and Trunks made of Bark, in which were their Beds, full of Wood-Dust, as soft as Down itself. The Cradles were at the End of the Cabbin, full of naked Children, and the Fire was in the Midst. There were no Kitchen Utensils, save one Copper Kettle, and some others of Bark, which they can never use, but when there is no Flame.

When these People smoke, to which both Men and Women are very much addicted, they take a Mouthful of Water, and swallow the Smoke of the Tobacco with it. This has such an Effect upon them, that they fall down, and lie upon the Ground for some Time insensible, with their Eyes open, and foaming at the Mouth, like those



in the Falling-Sickness; some of them even die in this Condition; sometimes they fall into the River, or into the Fire, and there come to a miserable End; and sometimes they are quite suffocated to Death with this Smoke.

They fall into great Passions, if any Mention is made of their Relations: nor can they bear to hear them named, tho' they have been dead for a long Time. They are absolute Strangers to every Thing that has passed in the World before their own Time. and know not how either to read or write. They apply themselves not at all to the Culture of the Earth, tho' they are very fond of Bread.

Their Boats are made of the Bark of Trees, and the Timber and Frame-Work within of very slight Pieces of Wood. They are two or three Fathom in Length, and not above an Ell broad; and yet they make a Shift to live out in very bad Weather. In Winter these *Ostiaes* live under Ground, with a Hole at the Top of their Caves for the Smoke to go out. When it snows whilst they sleep by the Fire, and they find one Half of their Body covered with Snow; when they wake, they turn themselves with that next the Fire; and feel no Inconvenience by it. So much for the *Ostiaes*.

M. *Iforant* now left the *Oby*, and arrived on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September, at the Town of *Keetskoi*, on the *Keta*, which falls North-West into the *Oby*. On the 28<sup>th</sup> he came to the Monastery of St. *Sergius*; on the 3<sup>d</sup> of October, to the Village of *Woroxekin*, and on the 7<sup>th</sup> happily arrived at *Makoskoi*, after many Inconveniencies on the *Keta*, and suffering greatly from the Want of Provisions. He resolved now to expose himself no longer to the Perils of the Water, but to perform the rest of his Journey by Land. Having travelled sixteen Leagues, upon the 12<sup>th</sup> of October, he came to *Jenizeskoi*, where he stay'd some Time, to repose himself, and to wait for the Winter Season being settled, that he might continue his Journey in a Sledge. In the mean Time he made Preparations for every Thing he wanted, and had Leisure enough to examine what was remarkable in the City. It takes its Name from the River *Jenissa*, which arising from



from the South, crosses the *Kalmuc* Mountains, and holds on almost in a strait Line to the Northward, till it disembogues itself in the *Icy-Sea* of *Tartary*. The City of *Jenizeskoi* is indifferently large, well fortified, and well peopled. There is great Plenty of Corn, Butcher's Meat, and Poultry. Its Jurisdiction extends over a great Number of the Heathen *Tungutes*, who inhabit along the *Jenisia* and the *Tunguska*. They pay their Tribute to the Czar in all Sorts of Furs. The Cold is so intense here, that the Fruit Trees bear no Fruit.

The Envoy departing from *Jenizeskoi*, arrived, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of *January* 1693, at the Island of *Ribnoi*, which stands in the Middle of the River *Tunguska*, and abounds in Fish, especially Pike and Sturgeon, of an extraordinary Size. It is almost wholly inhabited by *Russians*. Upon the 23<sup>th</sup> he arrived at *Kinskoi*, upon the River *Ilui*, which rises to the South-South-West, and discharges itself into the *Tunguska*, North-North-West. At some Days Journey from hence, is the great Cataract or Fall of Water of *Sbamanfskoi*. The Fall of this Torrent is half a League in Extent; the Sides are Hills of Rock, and all the Bottom is Rock: It is terrible to behold, and makes a most frightful Noise as it falls among the Rocks, some of which appear above Water, and some are concealed under it. When the Air is still, it may be heard at the Distance of three \* *German Leagues*.

The Vessels wherewith they navigate up this Torrent, are often six or seven Days in getting up, altho' they are quite light, and drawn up by Caplons, Windlasses, Anchors, and Men. Sometimes it happens that they work a whole Day, in Places where the Water is low, and the Rocks are high, and do not gain the Length of the Vessel, which is all that Time in great Danger.

They unlade these Vessels to go down, as well as to go up the Torrent, and carry the Goods by Land, till they have passed the Danger. The Fall is so precipitate, that they are seldom above twelve Minutes in going down. There are but few of the *Russians* or the *Tunguses* who are quite dexterous at this Navigation, tho'

\* A *German League* is about five *English Miles*.

they are provided with a Rudder both fore and aft, and though they have Oars shipped on each Side. The Steersman directs the Men at the Oars with the Motion of a Handkerchief, the Noise being so rude and boisterous, as to drown the Sound of the Voice; and besides this, they take care to have their Vessel close covered up, to prevent their shipping the Water that goes over them. However, there happens every Year some sad Accident or other for want of skilful Pilots, who run upon the Rocks, in which Case there is no Resource, and they are either swallowed up by the furious Torrent, or inevitably dashed to Pieces against the Rocks: Nor is it easy to recover the dead Bodies of those so lost; tho' on the Shore are many Crosses erected at the Places where such Wrecks have happened, and where the People have been buried.

Some Leagues from hence are Numbers of *Tungutes*, who are Heathens, robust, and well made of Body. They wear their long black Hair, knotted behind, which falls down upon their Backs like a Horse's Tail; their Face is generally broad, but their Nose is not flat, and they have little Eyes like the *Calmucks*. Both Men and Women go naked in the Summer, excepting a Leather about their Middle, somewhat like a Fringe. The Women wear their Hair dressed up with Coral, to which they hang little Iron Figures. Upon their left Arm they carry a sort of Pot full of smoking Wood, which keeps the Flies from biting them. These Insects swarm so much upon the River *Tunguska*, that a Man is obliged to cover over his Face and his Hands; but these Pagans are so used to them, that they hardly feel them. They stain their Forehead, Cheeks, and Chin, with Thread steeped in black Grease, which leaving a Mark behind it, they think is extremely beautiful.

In Winter they wear undressed Skins of the Rein-Deer, adorning the fore Part with Horse-Hair, and the Bottom with Dog-skins. They use neither Linnen nor Woollen; but make themselves a kind of Ribbon or Thread of Fish-skin. Upon their Heads also they wear the Skin of the Rein-Deer with the Horns on, and particularly when they are about to hunt that Creature, whom

whom by that Means they get near, gliding along upon the Grass, till they are within Reach, when they seldom fail to dispatch him with their Arrows. They have Boats made of the Bark of Trees sewn together, big enough to hold seven or eight Persons ; they are long and narrow, and without Benches ; they row upon their Knees with a Paddle or Oar, which they hold by the Middle, and handle very dexterously.

Their Cabbins, which are made of the Bark of Birch, are, on the Outside, adorned with Tails and Manes of Horses, with their Bows and Arrows, and most of them with the dead Bodies of Puppies hung about them. They feed upon Fish in Summer, and they hunt in Winter, during which Time they feed upon Deer of several Sorts.

When they would divert themselves, they form a Ring, while one is in the Middle of them with a Stick in his Hand, with which he endeavours to strike the Legs of the rest as they run round him ; and they so artfully avoid the Blow, that it is but seldom any one of them is struck ; but when he is, they immediately duck him in the River.

They place the Bodies of their Dead stark naked under a Tree, and there leave them to rot ; after which they bury their Bones in the Ground.

They have no Priests ; but they have all of them wooden Idols in their Cabbins. These Idols are about half an Ell in Length, and of humane Shape, which they pretend to feed with the best of what they have, like the *Ostiacks*, and with as little Cleanliness.

Upon the 1<sup>st</sup> of *February* the Envoy arrived at the Fortress of *Buratroi*, upon the River *Angara*, which falls into the Lake of *Baikal*, and is well inhabited by a People that are Heathens, called *Burates*.

Upon the 11<sup>th</sup> he arrived at *Bulaganskoi* ; where also the Vales and low Countries are inhabited by the *Burates*, a People rich in Cattle. Their Cabbins are low, made of Wood, and covered with Earth ; they light their Fire in the Middle, and the Smoke goes out of a Hole on the Top of the Building. They have no Notion of Agriculture, or of Fruit-Grounds or Gardens ;

and their Villages are, for the most Part, on the Sides of Rivers, whence they are not used to remove like the *Tungutes*, and other of the Heathens. On one Side of their Doors they have Stakes planted in the Ground, upon which they impale Goats or Sheep, and fasten there to also the Skins of Horses.

In the Spring they meet together in great Numbers on Horseback, to hunt the Stag, the Rein-Deer, and other wild Beasts, which they call *Ablavo*. When they have Sight of them at a Distance, they divide themselves into Troops, and surround them; then they drive them together into a close Body by Degrees, and in this Manner frequently hedge in some hundreds of them, which they shoot with their Arrows, when they are within Reach; so that few of them escape, every Sportsman being provided with thirty Arrows. The Country swarms with Fallow-Deer, and wild Sheep, which upon the Mountains are met with by thousands.

The People have no Notion of Money in Coin; but if you want Oxen or Camels, to travel with to *China*, they will truck with you for pale Sables, Pewter or Copper Basons, red Cloths of *Hambourg*, Otter-skins, Silks of *Persia* of all Colours, and Gold and Silver in Ingots. In this Manner you may buy an Ox, which dressed would weigh from eight hundred to a thousand Pounds; for the Value of four or five Roubles; and a Camel for the Value of ten or a dozen. The Inhabitants of this Country, as well Men as Women, are robust and large of Stature; have a Face handsome enough in their Way, and somewhat resembling the *Tartars* of *China*. In Winter-time both the one and the other wear Gowns of Sheep-skins, with a great Girdle, and a Cap, called *Malachaven*, which comes over their Ears; and in Summer they wear Gowns of an ugly Sort of red Cloth. They are never washed but upon the Day that they come into the World; they never pare their Nails, and have scarce the Appearance of human Creatures.

The Men wear a Beard under their Chin, but pluck out all the rest; the Seams of their Clothes are adorned with Furs; their Caps are of Fox-skins; their Gowns  
of

of a blue Cotton Stuff, plaited in the Middle, and their Boots are of Skins with their Hair outermost. The Women wear Coral Rings, and Pieces of Money in the Tresses of their Hair; and the Hair of the Girls or Maidens is in Snakes, that they look like Furies.

The other Women have their Hair falling down on each Side, and adorned with all Sorts of Figures in Pewter: When they die, they bury them with their best Clothes, and a Bow and Arrows.

Their only Worship is to make certain Motions of the Head, at particular Times of the Year, to the Goats and Sheep that are impaled at their Doors. They pay the same Honour to the Sun and Moon, but upon their Knees, with their Hands joined together, though without saying a Word, or using any Sort of verbal Invocation. They have Priests, whom they put to Death whenever they please, and then bury them with Money and Clothes, that they may go before and pray for them.

When they are under a Necessity of taking an Oath among themselves, they repair to the Lake of *Baikal*, upon a high Mountain, which is sacred with them, and which they can reach in two Days Journey: They are persuaded that they should never come down again alive, if they take a false Oath. This Mountain has, for a great Number of Years, been in high Veneration with them, and they make frequent Offerings of Cattle thereon.

The Envoy, *M. Isbrant*, having made some Stay among these People, went to *Jekutskoi*, upon the River *Angara*, which rises from the Lake of *Baikal*, about eight Leagues off. This Town is flanked with good Towers; its Suburbs are very large; and Corn, Salt, Butcher's Meat, and Fish, are so cheap there, that they do not give above seven Pence for an hundred Weight of Barley. The Country about is very fertile, and abounds in Grain as far as *Wergolenskoi*, which is only some Leagues distant. The *Russians* in these Parts have some hundred Villages, and are very careful to cultivate the Land.



M. *Isbrant* having rested himself some Time at *Jekutskoi*, departed, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of *May*, in a Sledge, and crossed the Country to the Lake of *Baiakal*, where he arrived upon the 10<sup>th</sup>, and found it still frozen over. This Lake is about six *German Leagues* in Breadth, and forty in Length, and the Ice upon it two *Dutch Ells* in Thickness: It is very dangerous when it happens to snow, and the Wind is high at the same Time; Care must particularly be taken that the Horses be well shod for the Purpose, because the Ice is very smooth and slippery, and because the Snow is always driven off from it by the Wind. There are in it great Holes, very dangerous for Travellers, when the Wind is high, and the Horses are not properly shod, and into which they are frequently forced. The Ice sometimes cracks here with a Noise like Thunder; but never is long before it joins and knits together again.

The Camels and Oxen used in the Journey to *China*, must cross this Lake as they go from *Jekutskoi*, and that they may be able so to do, the former have Boots put on them, which are shod for the Ice, and very sharp Irons are put upon the Hoofs of the other, without which they would not be able to stand upon this smooth slippery Surface. The Water of this Lake is very sweet, though at a Distance it appears as green and clear as the Ocean. In the Breaks of the Ice it has Numbers of Seals, which are black; whereas those in the *White-Sea* are of a mixed Colour. This Lake is full of Fish, and particularly swarms with Sturgeon and Pike, some of which are of such Size, as to weigh two hundred *German-Weight*. The only River that goes out of this Lake is the *Angara*, which runs to the North-North-West; but there are several that fall into it, the Chief of which is the *Silinga*, which rises to the Southward in the Country of the *Mongales*; besides some Brooks and Rills that fall into it from the Rocks; nor is it without some Islands. Its Borders, and the Country round about, are inhabited by *Burates*, *Mongales*, and *Onkotes*, and produce very fine black Sables; besides that they here sometimes take a Creature called *Kaberdiner*.

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*The BURATE*



*To the R.<sup>t</sup> Hon.<sup>ble</sup>  
This PLATE is most*



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*T. Spindelowe sculp.*



the Lord SUNDBURY  
humbly Dedicated





It is particularly observable, with regard to this Lake, that when you are near it, on the Side of the Monastery of *St. Nicholas*, which stands in the Place where the *Angara* goes out of the Lake, the Inhabitants are very scrupulously cautious in advising all Travellers that are to cross it, by no Means to call it by the Name of *Oser* or *Still-water*, but a Lake ; lest they perish by the Violence of a Storm, as many have before them, who have been so indiscreet as to call it *Oser* ; a Caution which appeared so ridiculous to the Envoy, that he called it so as he went over it, without any Fear of what the Inhabitants had so predictively threatened him with ; and it happened, that in the Midst of very fine Weather he came to the Castle of *Katania*, the first Fortrefs in the Province of *Dauria*.

The next Day he departed from thence, and arrived at the great Burgh of *Ilinskoi*, or of *Bolsai Saimka*, most of whose Inhabitants are *Russians*, who in Winter hunt Sables ; the Product of the Earth affording them no more than a bare Subsistence, because the Country is incumbered with barren Hills.

Upon the 14<sup>th</sup> of *May* he arrived at the Castle of *Tanzinskoi*, where was a good Garrison of *Cossacks* to make Head against the Incurfions of the *Mongales*, who inhabit upon the Frontiers of that Country. Upon the 19<sup>th</sup> he arrived at *Udinskoi*, a Town seated upon a high Hill, upon the Foot of which most of the Inhabitants take up their Abode, under the Cannon of that Fortrefs, along the River *Uda*, which falls into the *Kilinga*, a Quarter of a League below the Town, in which there is also a good Garrison of *Russian Cossacks* to watch the Motion of the *Mongales*.

This Town, which is the Key of the Province of *Dauria*, is very much exposed, even in the Summer Time, to the Ravages of the *Mongales*, who often carry off Horses as they feed in the Meadows. The Land, which is there very mountainous, is fit for no Sort of Tillage, tho' it abounds in Cabbages, Carrots, Turnips, and such-like vegetable Productions ; but no Trees have as yet been planted there.

The River of *Uda* produces little or no Fish, except Pike and Roach; but every Day in the Month of *July*, there are prodigious Shoals of a certain Sort of Fish which they call *Omuli*, and which swim up this River from the Lake of *Baikal*. These *Omuli* are of the Size of a Herring, and hardly ever appear beyond this Town, at the Foot of a crumbled Hill, where they stay only for a few Days, and then swim back again to the Lake. They take great Quantities of them, by only throwing Sacks into the River, and these Sacks are frequently as full as they can hold. The Envoy was forced to stay here some Time for Camels and Horses; then went by Land to the River *Ona*, which comes from the North-North-West, and falls into the *Uda*.

Upon the 29<sup>th</sup> of *May* he reached the River *Kurba*, whose Source is to the North North-West, and in like Manner discharges itself into the *Uda*. He skirted this River towards its Spring, till he had got to the Middle of it: He was frequently obliged to leave it at some Distance, but never lost Sight of it.

Upon the 29<sup>th</sup> he arrived at *Jarauna*, and was ravished to meet with Towns again, after having crossed a desert Country full of high Rocks; an irksome Journey, during which he saw no Soul from the Time he left *Udinskoi*. This Fortrefs is provided with a good Garrison of *Cossacks*; and here also are many *Russians*, who subsist by the Sale of Sables. The *Konni Tungusi*, the Heathens who inhabit along the Rivers of *Tunguski* and *Angara*, spread all over this Country, and speak a Language peculiar to themselves. When they die they are buried with their Clothes, and their Arrows, and Stones are put over their Graves; then they plant a Stake, to which the best Horse of the Deceased is tied, and there sacrificed. They live by the Sale of Sable Furs, which are perfectly fine in this Country, and of an admirable Black. Here also are fine Luxes, and a Sort of Squirrels of a black Grey, which the *Chinese* were formerly wont to carry off with them. To the North of this Fortrefs are three small Lakes, not far from each other, which together, are two Leagues in Circumference, and abound with Pike, Carp, Perch, and the like. From hence are

two Ways, which lead to *Zitinskoi* or *Plodbitscha*. The Envoy sent Part of his Servants by one of them, and took the other himself, with a Train of fourteen Followers, to *Telimta*, in which Fortrefs are Numbers of *Russians*, who, in the Winter-Seafon, take Sables, equal to the very fineft in all *Siberia*, or the Province of *Dauria*.

Here he paffed a Night; and a *Kneez*, or Prince of the *Tungufes*, called *Liliulka*, came to fee him. This Lord had his Hair done up with Leather, and fo very long that it went three times round about his Shoulders; and when let loofe, meafured four *Dutch Ells* in Length. He had a Son with him but of fix Years old, whose Hair, which hung on his Shoulders, was an Ell in Length. Thefe *Tungufes* live in great Numbers upon the Hills and Mountains of this Country, and are generally rich, which proceeds from their large Dealings in Sables.

For two Days together they went over Stoney Mountains, very lofty, to the North-Weft and South-Eaft. The River *Konela*, which afterwards affumes the Name of *Wittim*, rifes there to the Northward; runs away to the North-Eaft, and falls into the *Lena*, and from thence into the Icy or Northern Sea. The *Zitta* commences from the other Side of the Mountains, half a League from thence, and falls into the *Ingodda*, or *Amur*, and from thence into the Eastern Ocean.

Upon the 15<sup>th</sup> of *June*, *M. Isbrant* arrived at *Plodbitscha*, as the Caravan with his Servants did the Day before, having fuffered greatly in the Way from the *Tungufes*, who had fet fire to the dry Grafs; fo that the Cattle being in want of Forage, they had been obliged to go into the Mountains for it at the Distance of a League.

He was forced to ftay fome Days at *Plodbitscha*, upon the *Zitta*, to refit him a little, and to get ready fome Rafts, by which he was to fall down the Rivers *Ingodda* and *Schilka* to *Nerzinskoi*; for the Waters were fo low, that there was no fuch Thing as going in Boats, nor was it quite fafe to go upon Rafts in the rocky Places, where two of them were broke: They were laden with Part of the Envoy's Equipage; but with fome Trouble it was all faved.

When every thing was ready, he sent his Camels and other Beasts of Burthen before him, towards *Merzinskoi*, by the Way of the Mountains, and following them himself, reached the River *Onon* upon the 19<sup>th</sup>. This River rises from the Fens of *Mongal*, and to the North-East throws itself into the *Ingodda*, where having united their Streams, they go away together by the Name of *Schilka*. Their Waters are very white, and their Borders are inhabited by several Hoards of the *Mongales*, who commit frequent Ravages on the other Side of the *Schilka*, quite to *Merzinskoi*. But they are not always attended with the best Luck upon these Occasions ; they are not seldom repulsed, and when any of them happen to be taken, they are sure to be executed as common Robbers. The *Russian Cossacks* also scour the Country all along the *Onon*, to take Vengeance on them, and spare not one that comes in their Way.

Upon the 20<sup>th</sup>, he happily arrived at *Nerzinkoi*, a Town upon the *Nerza*, which comes from the North-North-East, and discharges itself into the *Schilka*, a Quarter of a League from this Fortrefs, whose Works are not bad, and provided with a great Number of Brass Artillery, as well as with a good Garrison of *Daurian Cossacks*, who serve both on Foot and on Horseback. This Place, though surrounded with high Hills, does not want for Grass Grounds to feed its Camels, Horses, and other Cattle. And here and there, upon the Hills, are Patches of Land fit for Tillage, and for the Production of such Things as the Inhabitants stand in need of.

Four or five Leagues upon the *Schilka*, above this Town, and ten Leagues below it, are several *Russian* Gentlemen, and some *Cossacks* who subsist by Tillage, Grazing, and Fishing. The Places about this Town and Hill produce all Sorts of Flowers and Plants ; Bastard Rhubarb, or *Rapontica*, of extraordinary Size ; fine white and yellow Lillies ; red and white Pionies of a charming Scent, and of several Sorts ; Rosemary, Thyme, Sweet Majoram, Lavender, besides many odoriferous Plants unknown in *Europe* ; but they have no Sort of Fruit here except Gooseberries. The Heathens, who have a long time been in this Country, and who  
are

are under the Dominion of the Czar of *Muscovy*, are of two Sorts; the *Konni Tungusi*, and the *Olenni Tungusi*. The first are obliged to appear on Horseback at the first Orders of the *Waiwode*, or Governor of *Nerzinskoi*, or when the Borders are infested by the *Tartars*; and the *Olenni* are obliged to serve on Foot, and armed in the Town, when Occasion requires. The Chief of the *Konni Tungusi*, when M. *Isbrant* was there, was a *Knez*, called *Paul Petrowitz Gantimur*, or, in their Language *Cantana Gantimur*. He was pretty far advanced in Years, and of the Country of *Nieubeu*, where he had been a *Taischa*, under the Dominion of the King of *China*; but falling into Disgrace with that Prince, who deposed him, he removed into *Dauria*, with his Hoards or Vassals, and embracing the Christian Faith of the *Greek Church*, threw himself under the Protection of the Czar. This Prince could bring three thousand Men into the Field in twenty-four Hours Time, all well mounted, and good Soldiers, provided with Bows and Arrows. It often happens that a Score or two of these People shall drive three or four hundred of the *Mongale Tartars* before them. Those who live near the Town subsist by Cattle; but those who live near the *Schilka* and *Amur* hunt for Sables, which are here of exquisite Beauty, and very black.

They live in Cabbins, which they call *Jurtes*, the Inside of which are Poles joined or framed together, and which they can easily remove from Place to Place, as they are often obliged to do. When these Poles are erected, they cover them over with Skins, except where the Smoke is to go out at Top; and their Fire-Places, round which they sit upon Turf, are in the Middle of the Cabin.

Their Worship is the same with that of the Inhabitants of *Dauria*, from whom they pretend to be descended, and differs in no Point from that of *Tartary*, quite to the Frontiers of the *Mongales*. The Women are here robust, with broad Faces, like the Men; are, when they are on Horseback, armed like them with Bow and Arrow, which they use with great Dexterity, even when young Maidens. Nor does their Dress differ from that  
of



of the Men. Water is their common Drink ; but these who have where-withal drink Tea, which they call *Kara'tza*, or *Black-Tea*, because it tinctures the Water with Black instead of Green. They boil it in Mares Milk, and a little Water, to which they add some Grease or Butter. They add also a Kind of distilled Liquor, which they call *Kunnen* or *Arak*, extracted from Mares Milk, and stir it every Hour for one Night, and then having put it in an earthen Pot well covered, and luted with Paste, distil it over a Fire. This is to be twice repeated before the Liquor is fit to drink, and then it becomes as strong and as clear as a Malt Spirit, and fuddles as easily. It is to be observed of the Cows of *Siberia*, *Dawia*, and generally speaking of all *Tartary*, that they will not suffer themselves to be milked while they have Calves at the Dug, and that they cease to give Milk as soon as they are out of their Sight. Hence it is that they are under a Necessity of using Mares Milk, which is much fatter and softer than that of the Cow.

These Heathens hunt in the Spring Time, and lay in their Store of Venison after the Manner of the *Burats*, drying it as they do in the Sun. Their Bread they make of the dried Roots of yellow Lillies, which they call *Sarana*, and which they apply to several other Uses. They are very adroit at shooting Fish in the Water, with their Arrows, though at the Distance of fifteen or sixteen Fathom. As their Arrows are heavy, they are fit to kill nothing but Pike and Trout, which swim in clear Water towards the Banks, and upon the Gravel, and these they split in two as if they had done it with a Cleaver, the Points of their Arrows being three Fingers broad.

When these People are under a Necessity to take an Oath to purge themselves of any Crime, they open the Vein of a Dog on the Left Side, from whence the Person that would clear himself sucks the Blood, till the Creature falls down dead by the emptying his Blood-Vessels. The Envoy saw an Example of this at *Nerzinskoi*, where one of the *Tungutes* had accused another of having bewitched some of his Companions, who were dead by his Practices upon them ; but the Party accused acquitted himself

himself by submitting to the fore-mentioned Trial, and his Accuser was punished in his Stead.

M. *Isbrant* staid some Weeks at *Nerzinskoi*, to provide himself with Camels, Horses, Oxen, and every Thing else necessary for the Continuation of his Journey, and departed from thence upon the 18<sup>th</sup> of *July*. Upon the 3<sup>d</sup> of *August* he arrived at *Arganskoi*, the last Fortrefs belonging to their Czarian Majesties on that Side. It stands upon the River *Argun*; which rising to the South-Eastward, falls into the *Amur*, and serves for a common Boundary between the Dominions of *Muscovy* and those of the King of *China*.

F I N I S.



I N D E X



# I N D E X

TO THE

THIRD VOLUME

OF THE

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20.  
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